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TRANSACTIONS.

OCTOBER, 1902, TO MARCH, 1904.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VII.

OCTOBER, 1902, TO MARCH, 1904.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION,

October, 1902, to March, 1903.

OCTOBER MEETING.

On Monday, October 20th, the President, Mr. Jenkinson, in the Chair, Mr. Falconer Madan read a paper entitled, *Some Notes on the Oxford Press, with Special Reference to the Fluctuations in its Issues.*

SUMMARY.—Mr. Madan began by contrasting the compact and manageable extent of the history of printing at Oxford with the vastness of the London trade, which has discouraged any attempt at compiling a list of London printers after 1640, save two very imperfect essays in *Notes and Queries*. His own study of Oxford books had begun from the time when he interleaved a copy of the sale catalogue of the collection of them formed by Philip Bliss, whose books may still be recognised by the manuscript 'P' placed before the printed signature 'B' on the second sheet. After the brief activity of unofficial presses between '1468' and 1486, and in 1517–1519, there was no printing at Oxford until 1585, though as many as twenty-six volumes wrongly ascribed to the Oxford press bear intermediate dates. The permanent press was from the first official. It was brought about by no special cause, but rather in consequence of the increased social status of the University due to Elizabeth's policy. To illustrate its history for the next three centuries a chart was shown, in which the point to which the line

rose or fell indicated a five-year average of production. For some of the fluctuations no explanation could be offered. Thus there was a rise in 1611, but the publications of the year, though they included Captain John Smith's *Map of Virginia*, were mostly sermons, and had nothing special to mark them. In 1625 a steady rise began, due chiefly to the activity of Laud, who obtained from Charles I privileges on an even larger scale than those which Cambridge had received from Henry VIII, so as to exclude the opposition of the London Stationers in the matter of Almanacs, Grammars, and Bibles. In 1636 the Press issued an edition of Lilly's Grammar and three Almanacs, with the result (perhaps not unforeseen) that its competition was bought off the next year by the Stationers' Company for £200. Under the year 1629 Mr. Madan noticed, as an interesting point, that in Charles Butler's *Oratoriæ libri duo*, at Sig. A4 verso, are shown specimens of nine types then in use—Nonpareil, Brevier, (Long) Primer, Pique, English, Great Primer, Double Pique, Double English, Canon—thus presenting the first English equivalent for a type-sheet. In the same year a request came from Cambridge for the loan of the Greek type presented by Sir Henry Savile, originally cut for his edition of the works of St. Chrysostom. After the boxes of letters had been duly returned in 1631, the Greek Testament printed with them was published at Cambridge the following year, and Mr. Madan raised the question as to whether Oxford could claim any credit for its production, it being the first Greek Testament printed in either University. Another doubtful point as to an *editio princeps* was raised over Ussher's text of the Epistle of Saint Barnabas. This was printed off (with the Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius) in 1642–43, but either because of an error in sheet E, or for some other reason, publication was deferred, and with the exception of one imperfect copy (discovered about 1870) it was destroyed in the fire of October, 1644, which, beginning with an attempt at roasting a pig, anticipated the calamities described in Lamb's Essay by devastating one-fourth of Oxford. The next year appeared the Paris edition of the *Epistola Sancti Barnabæ*, which is always reckoned as the first.

The presence of the King and his Court at Oxford during 1642–1645 caused a great mountain to rise suddenly in Mr. Madan's chart, all the activity of the Royalist pamphleteers helping to feed the Oxford press while it was the King's headquarters. During the next fifteen years the level of production was low, but about 1660 there was another rise, due partly to the Restoration, but even more to the active patronage of Bishop Fell. Up to 1669 the printing was all done in private houses, but in that and the twenty following years it was carried on in the Sheldonian Theatre, though the clearing away the presses for the Encænia must have been an annual inconvenience. From the Sheldonian the press was transferred to a private house in Cat Street, known as Fell's Building, though the imprint 'E Theatro Sheldoniano' continued in use for some time after the move. From 1712 to 1830 the business was carried on at the Clarendon Building. The opening of the 'Clarendon Press,' as it now exists, in 1830, was followed by a great increase in output, due partly to the Tractarian movement, but mainly to the much extended facilities offered by the new premises. The subsequent history of the Press, save for a check in 1856, owing to the Crimean War, has been one of continuous progress.

In addition to the chart, Mr. Madan gave the following rough estimate of the output of the Press during successive half centuries:

1585–1600	...	125	1701–1750	...	1,000
1601–1650	...	1,170	1751–1800	...	1,100
1651–1700	...	1,520	1801–1850	...	3,200
		1851–1885	...	5,000	

The total output may thus be put approximately as 13,000.

Under the title of 'A Chart of Oxford Printing,' a revised and enlarged edition of the chart, with entirely new notes, has been issued to Members as an Illustrated Monograph.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 17th, Mr. Redgrave, Vice-President, in the Chair, Mr. Charles Sayle read a paper on *English Initial Letters, chiefly before 1600*, printed in full in the present volume.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Previous to the December Meeting, the following Annual Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among the Members by means of the Society's *News-Sheet*:—

(1.) The tenth year of the existence of the Bibliographical Society has been in some respects even unusually prosperous. The number of Members has been steadily maintained, only two deaths and one resignation having to be reported.

(2.) Early in the year the number of Candidate-Members on the Roll had already reached the permitted maximum (15), and since March the Council has only been able to make two elections. Five gentlemen actively engaged in bibliographical work are now waiting election as Candidate-Members, and it would be an advantage to the Society to secure their help.

(3.) That the Roll of the Society has thus lost the elasticity which the system of Candidate-Members was intended to give, is partly due to the fact that of the 300 British and American Members some 50 are Libraries or other Public Institutions. To have numerous Libraries among our Members is in many ways highly advantageous; but on the other hand, they do no work for the Society. It is therefore proposed that, to prevent the number of working Members being too much encroached on, the Council shall be given power to elect, instead of the present 15 Candidate-Members, a total of 25 such Members. An Amendment to Rule 6, giving effect to this suggestion, will be submitted to the Annual Meeting.

(4.) The Council regret that no books have as yet been issued for the present year. Bibliographical work is peculiarly liable to be delayed by new points arising while a book is in progress, and it is difficult to refuse authors who are good enough to work for the Society time to complete any investigations they think necessary. Mr. Steele's monograph on *English Printed Music before 1600*, which has already been mentioned in two annual reports, has made substantial progress during the year, but it is not

yet completed. Mr. Gray's monograph on *The Early Stationers and Bookbinders and First Printer of Cambridge* has also been unexpectedly delayed. The Council have, however, been fortunate in securing for immediate publication a monograph by Mr. Strickland Gibson, of the Bodleian Library, on *Early Oxford Bindings*, which will form a companion to Mr. Gray's Cambridge book. It is being illustrated by more than thirty collotype plates, which satisfactorily solve the difficulty of illustrating blind-stamped bindings to which allusion was made in the last report. Both the plates and the text of Mr. Gibson's monograph are being printed at the Clarendon Press, and the book should be in the hands of Members some time in January. It is hoped that it may be accompanied by Mr. Steele's Music book, much of which is already in type.

(5.) In the smaller series of the Society's publications a new Part of *Transactions*, completing Vol. VI, is in type, and will be ready for issue in January. The Council have also accepted for publication a collection of Abstracts of the Wills of English Printers and Publishers, chiefly of the sixteenth century, by Mr. H. R. Plomer, and this is now in the hands of the printer. It has been decided, also, to proceed with the Hand-Lists of English Printers, which have been temporarily suspended owing to the difficulty of presenting any record of the work of the later men as satisfactory as the lists of Wynkyn de Worde's books and those of Pynson, which the Society owes to the kindness of Mr. Gordon Duff. The new lists will be edited by the Hon. Secretary and Mr. Greg.

(6.) During the last six months some researches have been made (under the superintendence of the Hon. Secretary) to ascertain the feasibility of compiling a list of Manuscripts of English Poetry before 1600. Some account of these researches will be laid before the Society at the January Meeting.

(7.) The development of the Society's library continues to be hampered by the difficulty of finding house-room for more books than it has at present. Only a small sum has, therefore, been spent on it during the present year, and that chiefly for subscriptions to societies and for

binding. Gifts, however, have been received from the French Government, Prince d'Essling, Dr. Burger, Dr. Copinger, M. Delisle, and other donors.

(8.) The most important of these gifts to the Society's Library has been the second volume of M. Claudin's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France*, presented by the French Government. In acknowledgment of the great services to the history of printing in France rendered by M. Claudin in this and other works, notably in his monograph on *The First Paris Press*, written for the Society, a diploma of Honorary Membership has been conferred on him during the present year and very cordially accepted.

(9.) The subjoined Balance Sheet will show that the finances of the Society are in an excellent condition, and fully sufficient to meet all calls to which they are liable.

BALANCE SHEET.—1st December, 1901, to 30th November, 1902, inclusive.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1901	217	13	6
Life Subscription	12	12	0
Subscriptions for 1901 ...	1	1	0
British Subscriptions for 1902	218	8	0
United States Subscriptions for 1902	81	2	7
Foreign Subscriptions for 1902	29	8	0
Subscription for 1903 ...	1	1	0
Entrance Fees	16	16	0
Sale of Publications to Members	35	9	6
Interest on Investments ...	10	2	2
	£623	13	9

Cr.	£	s.	d.
Printing	184	16	3
Illustrations	17	12	0
Copying and Researches ...	36	11	3
Vote for Library	5	16	6
Re-purchase of Society's Publications	1	0	0
Rent	20	0	0
Expenses of Meetings ...	11	12	0
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	4	4	0
Assistance for Hon. Secretary	1	15	10
Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	2	0	9
Bank Charges and Exchange	0	5	11
Balance	336	18	3
	£623	13	9

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

3rd December, 1902.

EDWARD ALMACK.
ALEX. NEALE.

Assets.	£	s.	d.
£100 2½ % Consols	93	0	0
£200 4 % N.S.W. Stock ...	222	0	0
Stock of Publications ...	300	0	0
Balance of Account for 1902	336	18	3
Subscriptions in Arrear ...	6	6	0

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
Estimated Liability for 26 Life Members	273	0	0
Estimated cost of completing books for the year, and of Miscellaneous Printing ...	250	0	0

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Bibliographical Society was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, December 15th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Francis Jenkinson, in the Chair.

After the minutes of the previous annual meeting had been read and confirmed, the Council's Report was read for the Hon. Secretary by Mr. W. W. Greg, and its adoption, and that of the Balance Sheet as printed in the December *News-Sheet*, was moved by Mr. Faber and seconded by Mr. Redgrave, both of whom congratulated their fellow Members on the prosperous condition of the Society. After this motion had been carried unanimously, Mr. Faber moved the adoption of the amendment to Rule 6, substituting the number twenty-five for the number fifteen in the clause 'the Council shall have power to elect (i) not more than fifteen British or American Candidate-Members from whom vacancies may be filled up as they occur.' In bringing forward this amendment Mr. Faber stated that it was dictated to some extent, as explained in the Report, by the fact that there were several gentlemen awaiting election who would be likely to take an active part in the work of the Society, and in their desire not to make any hasty change the Council preferred to ask for this slight increase in their discretionary powers rather than for a permanent increase in the number of Members. The amendment of the Rule was seconded by Mr. Wheatley and carried unanimously.

The following gentlemen were then proposed from the Chair as Members of Council for the ensuing year and duly elected: G. F. Barwick, Sir Thomas Brooke, Bart., A. J. Butler, Sir Ernest Clarke, W. Y. Fletcher, G. K. Fortescue, Abbot Gasquet, W. W. Greg, J. F. Payne, M.D., Henry R. Tedder, Charles Welch, Henry B. Wheatley.

The President then rose to move the election of Mr. Alfred H. Huth as his successor, and the re-election of the other officers. But before doing this he offered some remarks suggested by the fact that this was the Society's Tenth Annual Meeting. M. Léopold Delisle was the one original

Honorary Foreign Member of the Society; and he therefore asked and obtained the leave of the Meeting to offer M. Delisle the Society's warm congratulations on his jubilee as a librarian. Of other original Members several of the most distinguished had been removed from the roll by death, among them being the Duc d'Aumale, Lord Charles Bruce, Mr. Christie, who had taken the Chair at the preliminary meeting at which the Society was founded, Mr. Talbot Baines Reed, its first Secretary, Mr. Ashbee, Sir John Gilbert, who had done so much for the history of printing in Ireland, Mr. F. S. Ellis, Mr. R. H. Blades, the author of a little book on Caxton which should be reprinted, Mr. Alfred Cock, Q.C., Mr. Justin Winsor, and Mr. William Morris. To these names he added that of Mlle. Pellechet, who had joined the Society very early in its career, and whose lamented death had interrupted the publication of the *Catalogue générale des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, of which she had made so good a beginning. Of those who had helped the cause of bibliography outside the ranks of the Society he would only mention M∴ Bernard Quaritch, a man with a very attractive side to his character, who issued catalogues so good that the production of them was something of the nature of a landmark, and secondly, Mr. Quaritch's cataloguer, Mr. Michael Kerney, whose genuine enthusiasm made it always a pleasure to go into the auction room at Sotheby's and find him there.

Mr. Jenkinson next turned to the papers of Dr. Copinger, Mr. Wheatley, and Mr. Madan, in the first volume of *Transactions*, as expressing the aspirations of some of those who had been instrumental in founding the Society. How far had those aspirations been fulfilled? As regards work on *incunabula*, Dr. Copinger's *Supplement to Hain* had not been issued by the Society, and could, therefore, only be placed to its credit as the work of one of its Members. But the Society had published the monographs of Mr. Redgrave, M. Claudin, Dr. Haebler, Mr. Macfarlane, and Mr. Proctor. There had been the issue of Mr. Proctor's *Index*, of the *Woolley Facsimiles*, of those edited by Dr. Burger, and those of the Type Facsimile Society. Altogether in this branch of work it might be said that the Society and its

Members, so far from being idle, had really been cutting their own throats by their industry, as it could hardly be doubted that these publications were partly responsible for the recent rise in prices.

Towards the bibliography of English Authors which Mr. Wheatley had desired, very little had been done by the Society, which had not even succeeded in getting people to register in its *Transactions* odd bits of information the preservation of which would really be useful. But they might reckon to the good the bibliographical notes in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (or at least some of them), the completion of the Author-Catalogue of the British Museum, the publication of the catalogues, by Mr. Sayle and Mr. Duff, of the English Books printed before 1641 in the University Library, Cambridge, and in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, of Mr. Gray's invaluable Index to Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections*, and of Mr. Dix's lists of Irish Books.

Referring to the question of size-notation raised in Mr. Madan's paper, he was glad to say that the system of denoting the sizes of books in centimetres (adding for old books F°, 4°, etc.) had been in use for two years at Cambridge and had worked very well.

Other notable events which came into the ten years of the Society's existence were the foundation of the Sandars Readership in Bibliography, the revival of the Palæographical Society, the great improvement in Booksellers' Catalogues, and the unfortunate craze for Bookplates.

At the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Jenkinson proceeded to move the re-election of the other officers of the Society, and the election as its President of Mr. Alfred Huth, who, as the first Treasurer of the Society and subsequently as one of its Vice-Presidents, had already contributed greatly to its prosperity. Both motions were carried by acclamation. Mr. Huth then took the Chair, and thanked his predecessor on behalf of the Society both for his address that afternoon and for his many services during the past two years. A vote of thanks was then offered to the other office-holders, and acknowledged, in the absence of the Treasurer, by the Hon. Secretary.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 19th, the President, Mr. Huth, in the Chair, a paper was read for Mr. Alfred Pollard on *The Bibliography of Manuscripts containing English Poetry written before 1600.*

SUMMARY.—After regretting that the failure of students of literature and students of bibliography to exchange notes led to errors being made and perpetuated in both subjects, Mr. Pollard claimed that bibliography was just as much concerned with manuscripts as with printed books—the study of the history of printing and the study of the history of writing in each case only covering a small section of the ground and leaving many interesting bibliographical problems untouched. In dealing with manuscripts as with printed books, the first question to be asked was, What are the books with which we have to reckon? and as regards English poetical manuscripts, very little had hitherto been done, on the side of bibliography, to answer this question. With all their faults, printed-book men had at least effected something in the way of simple enumeration, in such works as Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum* and Dr. Copinger's *Supplement* to it, and Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, while in a few months' time Professor Arber's indexed reprint of the Term Catalogues would carry on the work to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Of manuscripts, on the other hand, no lists were available, except those in the catalogues of individual libraries (printed and unprinted), and in these, as a rule, the student of English literature had to pick the English books out of the whole mass of Western manuscripts, whereas the happy Orientalist often had all the manuscripts in any one Eastern language brought together for his use in a compact volume. Thus no estimate could be offered of the number of extant English manuscripts in prose, but as regards poetry, reasons would be given later on for suggesting that some such number as 2,000 represented the maximum that could be supposed to be extant, and of these many probably contained only a few short poems of little literary value. Even with no such discount, 2,000 extant manuscripts would be no very large amount of salvage from poetical publications of six or seven

centuries. Rather it raised at once the serious question of what proportion of our older literature had come down to us. With a few exceptions, such as the *Moral Ode*, the *Harrowing of Hell*, and, notably, the *Cursor Mundi*, the great bulk of English poetry written before 1362 (the date of the earliest text of *Piers Plowman*), had been preserved, apparently quite accidentally, in single copies. In some cases, the *Ormulum* for instance, this might possibly be the only copy written. On the other hand, Dr. Skeat had lately shown that the condition of the text of the single extant manuscript of the *Lay of Havelok* necessitated the existence of at least three earlier stages of the Lay, of not one of which had a single copy survived. Thus, of the poetry written before 1360, only a mere fragment had come down to us, and this fact was hardly sufficiently emphasized in histories of English literature. On the other hand, the preservation of at least 45 manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*, of at least 47 of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and of about 60 of the *Canterbury Tales*, warranted the belief that from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, the preservation of long poems written in the dialect of London and the Court was fairly secure, while lessons which only Protestant controversialists would ignore might be drawn from the number, and in many cases the fine condition of manuscripts of the versions of the Bible associated with the name of Wyclif. But the destruction of ballads, lyrics, and plays still went on, and of the four cycles of miracle plays that had come down to us from a time when they were acted in almost every town in England, in only one case (that of the Chester plays) had we more than a single manuscript, though there were a few variants of individual plays.

Turning to the question of how manuscripts were written, Mr. Pollard, rejecting the popular superstition that secular poetry would be largely copied by monks, suggested that we must distinguish between the Miscellany-Books into which any literary member or servant of a family would copy whatever was thought worth preserving (from cookery recipes to long poems and religious treatises), and the single-poem manuscripts, which would originate with copies made under the author's superintendence for

presentation to patrons from whom he could look for a reward. The system of patronage which we found in vogue at a later date obliged us to work back to such a theory as regards the fourteenth century, and it was also vouched for by the wearisome frequency of illuminations showing an author presenting his book to some noble person. The literary evidence, again, all pointed to this. Dr. Skeat had shown that there were three main recensions of *Piers Plowman* and several intermediate stages, all of which required the author's personal participation. We had learnt from Professor Macaulay that Gower must have had copyists working under his supervision—there are three main recensions of the *Confessio Amantis*, and again several intermediate stages. Once more Professor McCormick had shown that there are marks of similar stages in the manuscripts of Chaucer's *Troilus*, and we know that the poet employed a scrivener named Adam to copy it for him, and was angry with him for copying it badly. We had also from Chaucer's pen two markedly different versions of the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*. The fact that the *Canterbury Tales* were left incomplete made it improbable that they were copied and recopied under the author's supervision to the same extent. Nevertheless, alternative readings could be found in good manuscripts which seemed to postulate the author's own revision, and the *à priori* probabilities lay all in this direction. Thus any attempts to represent all the extant manuscripts of any long mediæval poem as derived from a single original, all deviations from which were unauthorized, appeared to be contrary to what we might fairly call the 'conditions of publication' of that period, and the elaborate genealogical tables drawn up by some scholars were to be received with suspicion.

Mr. Pollard then explained how he had arrived at his guess of a total of about 2,000 extant manuscripts containing English poetry earlier than 1600. He had ascertained that there were about 400 such manuscripts in the British Museum. From the lists of manuscripts of Langland, Chaucer, and Gower given by Professors Skeat and Macaulay, it appeared that in the case of these poems about one-fifth of the manuscripts were in the Museum, about one-fifth at the Bodleian, about a tenth in the Cambridge

University Library, another fifteen per cent. in College and Cathedral libraries, and some twenty-five per cent. (at most) in private hands. If these proportions could be applied to poetical manuscripts generally, the 400 in the British Museum would have to be multiplied by five, thus giving his total of 2,000.

What could the Bibliographical Society do to turn this guess into a certainty and make the whereabouts of these English manuscripts, whatever their number might be, better known to students of English literature? During the past summer, with the sanction of the Council, Miss Fox and Mr. George England had been working back from the information given in printed editions, from the references in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and from the hand-written list of Poetical Manuscripts in the Reading Room of the Manuscript Department at the British Museum. A considerable mass of material had thus been compiled, and it did not seem impossible to produce, by extending these researches, a rough and tentative list of at least a large proportion of extant manuscripts. Any such list would no doubt be speedily superseded, and pronounced by subsequent investigators to be very poor work. But if the Society were content in the first instance to aim at a good rough list, such a list would probably be carried to completion. If it attempted to produce a really satisfactory catalogue at one stroke, much material would be accumulated, and in all probability nothing would get into print. The necessity for paying the workers had to be faced, but the cost would probably not be prohibitive. The real difficulty lay in the fact that the Society, although its roll of Members had always been full, had hitherto attracted to itself very little help from Professors of English literature, and that without expert supervision, at least in Oxford, Cambridge, and London, it would be very difficult to carry out the scheme.

After remarks from the President and Mr. Wheatley, Dr. Furnivall, who was present as a visitor, spoke of the great value which such a list, however rough, would be to the Early English Text Society and its workers. Mr. Henry Bradshaw had urged him, when the Society was first founded,

to begin by making such a survey of the extant manuscripts available for the Society's work. But so much that wanted printing lay ready to their hand that they had gone to work with it at once, and their funds had always been fully employed in this way. He hoped that now the Bibliographical Society would come to their aid. In his reply, Mr. Pollard thought it necessary to remark that the Bibliographical Society itself was far from rich, its income being about half that of the E.E.T.S. Still he hoped that something might be done. It was worth noting that since his paper was announced, he had learnt that the Scottish Text Society was considering what steps could be taken to produce a satisfactory list of extant Scottish manuscripts.

FEBRUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS.

On Monday, February 16th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Huth, in the Chair, Mr. Robert Proctor read a paper on *The French Royal Greek Types and those used in the Eton Chrysostom.* On Monday, March 16th, the President in the Chair, Mr. E. R. McClintock Dix read a paper, in two parts, dealing respectively with (i) *the Earliest Dublin Printers and the London Stationers' Company;* (ii) *the Dublin Printers and the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist.* Both these papers are printed in full in the present volume, though Mr. Proctor's, unhappily, without the final revision which he had promised to give it on his return from the holiday in the course of which he met with his fatal accident.

INITIAL LETTERS
IN EARLY ENGLISH PRINTED BOOKS.

By CHARLES SAYLE.

Read 17th November, 1902.

WHEN first, in what books, and in what sequence of books, by what printers, and what sequence of printers, have ornamental initial letters been used in England?

Initial letters began to appear[1] in 1480 (four years earlier than the date given by Blades in his *Life, &c., of W. Caxton* II, liv). In 1484, on the second leaf of the *Æsop*, appeared the A which stands at the head of my illustrations. Not only is it remarkable that this should stand alone as the only letter of this alphabet which was used, but further it is to be noted that this letter does not appear until comparatively late in Caxton's English life; and finally it shows, for it is borne out by further examination—that he did not trouble himself about the ornamentation of his work, it is hardly too much to say, at all. He was far too much interested in the books themselves.

Abroad, book ornamentation had already made considerable advance. It is only necessary to look at two leaves of the *Mer des histoires*, produced in Paris only eight years later, to see how far we were behind. But this comparison would lead us too far afield. It is not yet in my power, even if it were desirable, to give here a bird's-eye view of the particular side of book ornamentation, which I have selected, throughout Europe. I will confine myself to one statement: namely, that the first time

(1) In the Indulgence. *See* Blades, *op. cit.*, II, 79.

that printed initial letters were used was in the Mainz *Psalter* of 1457, where they appear, engraved on wood, printed in red and blue ink. Those initials have been described as the most beautiful specimens of this kind of ornament which the wood-engraver has produced. 'They have been imitated,' it has been said, 'but not excelled.'[2] Those letters were printed with two blocks. Here, it is well to emphasize the fact that it is not in the method of printing these initials, or producing them, that I am at this moment interested. I am only treating of their artistic relation, and their codification.

1.—Caxton. *Æsop.* (1484.)

We have then the year 1480 from which we are to make our start, and I take approximately the year 1640 as my lower limit. The work produced immediately after that date in England is of inferior value, and the later history of the initial letter may well form the subject of a separate enquiry.[3]

(2) J. Jackson and W. A. Chatto, *Treatise on Wood Engraving*, ed. 1839, p. 201.

(3) *See*, for example, *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, 1654; T. Fuller's *Church History*, 1655; Sir T. Browne's *Pseudodoxia*, 1672, and the fine initials used in Tonson's edition of *Lucretius*, 1713. Very fine initials were produced abroad in the seventeenth century. I cite those which occur in Mercator's *Atlas*, Amsterdam, 1630, as characteristic of the very best work. So far as I am aware, no one has yet drawn attention to this set. It is worth while to allude to the work of Sturt in 1685. There are fine initials in the works of Ephraim Syrus, produced at Rome in 1733. Mr. Lewis F. Day's *Lettering in Ornament*, 1902, 8°, is an important addition to the subject.

The field which I have selected may be divided into several distinct periods. First there is the work produced by Caxton. A second limit obviously fixed is the year 1500. We have a right to know what initials were used in any books in England in the fifteenth century; and further, in what books. After the fifteenth century I have found it best to work by decades: from 1501 to 1510, to 1520, 1530, 1540, 1550, and so on. After the year 1600 another group of letters demands attention. I refer to those used in English books printed abroad without any indication of place. This division of the subject gives us families, and one can take all the joy of a genealogist in meeting an initial such as a C used by John Beale in 1633 if one knows its previous record in 1550; if, further, one can state that it was first used in England in 1530; that its ancestor came from Basle, and was the invention of Holbein. This then has been my endeavour.

It is very seldom, of course, that one is fortunate enough to obtain a whole alphabet in one book. I only recall two instances in fact, namely, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* printed by Julian Notary in 1508, and in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* of 1548.[4] Ordinarily, initials must be picked up where one can find them, and this naturally tends to leave large gaps. Of Denham's beautiful alphabet, perhaps the most beautiful ever produced in England, I have found all the letters except the F. For one letter in that alphabet I was on the watch for four years.[5] Of other alphabets we know that practically only single letters exist, such as the Caxton A already mentioned and the A of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus.[6]

I may here indicate the various groups into which initials fall, looked at from a point of view other than the historical. The initials criblés form

(4) Even here the A is of a different alphabet.

(5) A. F. Butsch, *Bücher-Ornamentik, Band I*, Tafel 82 note, mentions that he was very many years in a similar search, before he was rewarded with finding twenty of one alphabet.

(6) This is misleading. I should have said that, so far, only the A of the *Paraphrases* occurs, as far as I am aware, in England.

one family; the historiated form another; the caligraphic; the heraldic;[7] the bloomers or blooming initials as Herbert calls them[8]; then the much neglected family of factotums; the initials used in the provincial presses at Oxford, Cambridge, Tavistock, Worcester, and Canterbury: all these form separate groups. The Scottish initials I have ventured to leave alone for the present. They are for the most part wholly independent of English work. Irish printing comes too late. There is a good deal of fair decorative initial-work used in Dublin in the seventeenth century; but it is nearly always derived; bad copies of well-known English originals. Yet one set, at least, used there, I have not as yet identified. Finally, I even plead for the study of teratology. A fearful S beast guards the entrance to Rastell's *Statutes*. Another S guards the statutes of Henry VI. Mr. Bradshaw found him in the binding of a book in the Cambridge University Library, and I have failed to discover any other copy.

It will easily be seen how soon this study becomes extended. The English books printed in the Low Countries at the beginning of the sixteenth century at once land us in a new field of enquiry; the history of the initials in the so-called Marburg *Pentateuch* of 1530 for example: the initials in Coverdale's Bible of 1535, said to have been printed in Zurich. All these require investigation from this special point of view.

My method, briefly, has been the following:—Taking a sheet of ruled foolscap and opening it out, on the left I write down, in chronological order, the list of all the books which contain the particular alphabet under consideration. I have found it best to write the details very much in the order followed by Mr. Proctor in his Fifteenth Century Lists. First the year, when given; then the author's surname; then the short title; then the size; printer; and the library or class mark. All this goes in a single

(7) Mr. A. W. Pollard reproduces two English heraldic initials in *Bibliographica*, II, 232–252 (reprinted in *Old Picture Books*, 1902).

(8) Mr. W. W. Greg draws my attention to the fact that Herbert (p. 527) uses this term of heraldic initials. I believe Herbert uses the expression loosely as signifying any decorative initial; but I find no term so distinctive for the particular class to which I draw attention, and as such I leave it.

line. It will be some time before one gets more than thirty-three books containing examples of one alphabet. The advantage of this is that you see at a glance if a book has been assigned to a wrong printer. So much for the left-hand page. On the right-hand page, the left-hand side, I write down the letters of the alphabet in a vertical column, allowing a line a letter. Then I draw, as required, vertical columns in the manner of a meteorological chart, and allow plenty of space for later additions. With such a chart I can see at a glance how early any alphabet goes, and in what book precisely any particular initial occurs. Of such charts relating to English alphabets I have up to the present one hundred and twenty. To each set of initials I have given a number.

Many of these designs were cut over and over again; and it will be necessary in due course to discriminate between copy and copy. But our first purpose must be to earmark the original initial. Further, at this stage I have not cared to stop over different states of the same block, though it is tempting to do so.

I need not point out how important a test these initials become in the case of a mere fragment. They constantly assist in an identification; and a fragment often affords a link. On a rainy day at Windermere one September I traced one initial out of a book printed by Whitchurch in 1549. A fortnight later it turned up in the lining of a box in Winchester Cathedral. This time the initial was in the hands of John Wolfe in a book printed by him in 1585. Of such a link between the two printers we ought not to lose sight.

Those who look for biographical details, in this paper, relating to the engravers of these initials, or even the names of them, are prone, I fear, to disappointment. But I am in hope that when Mr. Colvin's monograph on English engraving appears we shall find much of the information, available up to date, already in our hands. I may here, however, mention the name of Anton Sylvius as that of one artist whose signed work we presumably have. To this I shall refer later. There are also the artists of the Elizabethan period to be reckoned with.

Little has yet been done. Upon the Continent the most satisfactory pieces of work upon the subject of initials are undoubtedly the *Bücher-Ornamentik* of Butsch,[9] and that of Gustav Schneeli and Paul Heitz upon the initials of Holbein, published at Strassburg in 1900. It is to be regretted that the plates are not accompanied by fuller letterpress. I shall have occasion to regret this also in connection with another book, the *Gravures sur bois*, published in 1868.[10] There are, of course, elaborate monographs upon the more artistic sets[11]: but these do not affect us. I draw attention to the excellent work issued at Strassburg in 1894–7, by Paul Heitz, upon the Alsatian initial letters.[12] I exclude, naturally, such a work as Geoffroy Tory's *Champfleury* (Paris, 1529, 4°), upon initial letters. The Italian letters are representatively figured in Castellani's *Early Venetian Printing*,[13] but the letterpress is so scanty that the book is very hard to use.

Mons. A. Claudin's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France* (Paris, 1900, etc., F°.), removes at last a large part of the difficulty as far as France is concerned. He gives us there exactly the information which we require, with admirable clearness. Here we see the origin of much of our English work. I draw attention to his sets of initial letters as used by Gering and Renbolt, reproduced in Vol. I, pp. 112–117, of his work, and in Vol. II, pp. 146–7 (Bocard), 312, etc. They are an admirable model of what ought to be done in each country.

With regard to the initials used in the Low Countries, many, no doubt, may be found in the facsimiles of Holtrop[14] and elsewhere, but until the

(9) A. F. Butsch, *Die Bücher-Ornamentik der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1878–1881, 2 Bde., F°.

(10) *Gravures sur bois tirées des livres français du XV^e siècle.* Paris (Labitte), 1868, 4°. I have not succeeded in finding the author of this book.

(11) Such as *The Grotesque Alphabet of 1464*, edited by C. Dodgson, London. 1899. F°.

(12) *Der Initialschmuck in den elsässichen Drucken des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts.* Strassburg. 4°.

(13) G. Castellani, *Early Venetian Printing*, Venice and London, 1895. 4°.

(14) *cf.* Holtrop, *Monuments Typographiques*, plates 50, 58, 70, 72, 85, 92, 104, 105.

initials as such have been duly codified, it is all but impossible to put them to their full use. There is then the difficulty that the initials have to be found, sought out, or hit upon, from foreign books largely by chance.

2.—Caxton. *Speculum Vitae.* (1484.)

3.—Caxton. *Speculum Vitae.* (1484.)

Caxton. Let us now attack these initials in detail. I head this paper with Caxton's meagre, plain, black-faced, small initials. I do so with some hesitation, but, if they are to be omitted, my notes would always be open to the objection that this part of the subject had been scamped. To the A used in the *Æsop* and *The Order of Chivalrie* I have already alluded. It appears to be of Italian origin. Caxton's initials, I hope, will be scheduled throughout.[15]

4.—Wynkyn de Worde. *Catharine of Siena.*

Wynkyn de Worde. With Wynkyn de Worde we come to a finer and more elaborate type such as the large H, the only letter of the

(15) Caxton used directors about 1480 in the *Mirror of the World.* It would be worth while to see how late these continued in vogue. They are still to be found in books of the seventeenth century, but of course, their meaning had gone. There is a long note in W. Herbert's *Typ. Ant.* (i. 281) upon the initial letters of this period.

alphabet used, in the *Catharine of Siena*, procured from Gottfried van Os, or Govaert van Ghemen, of Gouda, 'part of whose materials,' as Mr. Bradshaw noticed, 'passed over to England about the time that he seems to have removed to Copenhagen.' Indeed, he says: 'The woodcut initials are what specially serve at once to distinguish Wynkyn de Worde's earliest from Caxton's latest books.'[16] It is remarkably like the initials of Gerard Leeu, at Antwerp. I find the initial H in use as late as 1556, when it occurs in William Powell's edition of the *Kalendar of Shephards*.

5.—*Processionale.*

6.—Wynkyn de Worde. (1493.)

7.—Wynkyn de Worde. (1530?)

Wynkyn de Worde's most characteristic set is the grotesque initials (not reproduced)[17]. To these I have, at present, assigned no certain origin, but the type is familiar, and carries on very clearly the tradition of the manuscript illuminated initial.[18]

(16) Collected Papers, p. 220.

(17) Mr. Jenkinson has put into my hands, at the moment of going to press, his fragment of a Sarum Processional, containing initial letters (No. 5) approximating to, but wholly dissimilar from, the grotesques used by Wynkyn de Worde. They are unlike any that I have so far seen.

(18) Again, we stand in need of a well-conceived book on manuscript initial letters. I may, however, be allowed to draw attention here to plates in C. Cahier and A. Martin: *Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archaeologie*, Vol. II. (Paris, 1874, 4°, pp. 114–139.)

Pynson. The Pynsons are Nos. 8 to 19.

8.—Bonaventura. (1494.)

9.

10.

11.—*Dives et Pauper.* (1493.)

12.—*Missale.* (1500 and 1520.)

13.—*Missale*, fol. x. (1520.)

14.—*Ibid.* (Sanchorale) fol. iv *b*.

15.—*Missale*, 1520, fol. xxxvii *b*.

16.—*Ibid.*, fol. cv.

17.

18.

19.—*Manuale Sarum*. (1506.)

The magnificent O used by Pynson in the *Sarum Manual* of 1506 must be related to the Q used by Faques (No. 38). I do not know from what source he obtained it. Further, I am not sure that it is not engraved on metal.

Julian Notary. In 1498 we find Julian Notary printing a *Missal* for Wynkyn de Worde, with Wynkyn de Worde's initials.

20.—Notary. (1503.)

21.—Bocard, Paris. Notary. (1503.)

22.—Notary. (1503.)

23.—Notary. (1503.)

Other Presses. There are no initial letters in use at Oxford, nor at St. Albans, up to the end of the fifteenth century, so that our task as far as the fifteenth century is a fairly simple one.

Decade of 1500. Let us take the decade of 1501—1510. Nos. 20–23 are reproduced from Julian Notary's edition of the *Golden Legend*, printed in 1503.

Notary is apparently proverbial as a picker up of considerable trifles for his press, of which an indication has already been given, but I may specially draw attention to No. 21. It is the work of André Bocard, of Paris, in the fifteenth century.[19]

No. 22, on the other hand, to which No. 32, twenty-seven years later, appears to bear some affinity, is of Venetian extraction,[20] modelled on an initial used by Ratdolt in 1484.

Take these little grotesque initials, No. 24, inspired, I believe, from a Rouen source. There is a curious survival of this type in Scotland as late as 1672, in a volume of statutes printed by Andrew Anderson.

24.—Froissart, *Chronicles.* (1523.)

Decade of 1510. In the decade of 1510 we have an example of the direct and unlimited influence of the foreign service book. The superb *Sarum Missal* of 1511, printed in Paris by Sutor for Wynkyn de Worde and Faques, the only known copy of which is in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, contains five initial letters which were poorly copied in this country for many years.

In this decade, too, we have a most curious initial printed at York by Ulric Milner in 1513, in two colours. This was discovered some years back by Mr. Jenkinson in the binding of a book in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It is the only fragment known, and the

(19) See it reproduced in Claudin, *op. cit.*, II, 146. The initial itself was used afterwards at Canterbury in 1550.

(20) Castellani, pp. 72, 204.

only specimen known of Milner's press, and consists of two and a half leaves. Very considerately the binder has preserved for us the colophon of the book.

25.—U. Milner, York. (1513.)

There are three sets of initials in use at Oxford in 1517. They occur on a broad-sheet in the Cambridge University Library. These are (1) a large Caxton P, (2) several Wynkyn de Worde grotesques, (3) a small single letter of the Rouen family.

Decade of 1520. The decade of 1520 brings us at once to the magnificent Pynson *Missal* of 1520, full of the evidence of French influence,

26.—R. Pynson, *Missale*, fol. xxv *b*. (1520.)

if not of actual French initial blocks. Upon these a considerable amount of study could be expended. As an instance of the kind of difficulty with which this subject is beset I may draw attention to No. 26. This is own

brother to an initial I, reproduced in the anonymous *Gravures sur bois* of 1868.[21] If one looks for the history of this letter, one receives for comfort the remark that this initial is to be found in many bibles of the period.

The decade of 1520 brings us also to the press of Peter Treveris at Southwark, which is a large field in itself. The letters are fine bold specimens of the art, miserably cut. Mr. Duff pointed out to me that some of these letters contain the symbol, the Saint Andrew's cross and the A, of Laurence Andrewe himself. Poor as they are, they are interesting

27. Treveris. (1526.)

27.

specimens of the early growth of the art. Others of the Southwark letters are copied directly from the fifteenth century sets used by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp.

Though we find some initials, such as the A of John Reynes, and the A and I of Laurence Andrewe signed, the signature or indication of authorship does not extend to the whole alphabet. The A, in fact, is the only letter of Reynes which is signed.

In this decade, too, we have to consider at least three provincial presses. At Cambridge in 1521 Siberch produced the initial C which, as far as I

(21) See *ante*. Compare this A criblé crowned with one used at Rouen by Laurence Hostinque in 1513.

am aware, is unlike any other set.[22] It is so bad that it must, I think, be local. At Tavistock the initial W, from a book in the Bodleian, shows poor work, directly imitated from London. At Abingdon in 1528 we find an initial S, so bad that it could not be worse, which forms part of an alphabet copied directly from the Pynson *Missal* of 1520, and therefore indirectly from France. The book contains the B (with two giraffes, their necks intertwined), the C (of the Christian knight) and the D.

28.

Decade of 1530. By 1530 Holbein was in London.[23] How much work of his can we find in our English initials? We are only justified in assigning two to his hand, which appear in the next decade. But Didot's explanation is at least ingenious. His theory is that the painter was so much occupied with big pictures for the Court that he had no time for small matters of this nature. On the other hand, when the Archbishop asked him to engrave woodcuts for his *Catechism* which was printed in 1548, he could not very well refuse, and this is the reason why we find two blocks, and in this book only, signed by his name in full.[24] In the present state of our knowledge we are not justified in advancing any further statement upon the subject.

(22) Siberch, printing the *Geminus* in 1521, used the same set of initials as were used by Pynson in 1520. Mr. R. Bowes reproduced these and others in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Communications*, v, 342, and has kindly placed the blocks at my disposal.

(23) *Essai typographique et bibliographique sur l'histoire de la gravure sur bois*, par Ambroise Firmin Didot. Paris, 1863, 8°, p. 88.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 44. Reproduced in Chatto and Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

The Dance of Death found its way into English books by 1537.[25]

In this decade, too, we meet the work of Robert Wyer. Here, again, we have trace of Italian origin.[26]

29.—Nicholson. (1538.)

The beautiful initials used by Faques, at the commencement of the decade, in the *Mirrour of Our Lady*, deserve special remark. Mr. Duff, in his final

30.

31.

30-38. Faques, *Mirrour of Our Lady*. (1530.)

chapter added to Mr. Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books*, points out (p. 242) that they are probably the work of an engraver, E. G., not yet identified.[27]

(25) In the Coverdale Folio and Quarto of 1537.

(26) Castellani, pp. 181, 185.

(27) One of these at least descended to Thomas Reynold in 1548. *See* R. Smith, *Of unwryten veryties*, 8°.

32.

33.

34.

35.

36.

37.

38.

In this decade too commences, unless there is some inconceivable error of an imprint, the magnificent work attributed to the hand of Anton Sylvius.[28] The work of Sylvius is so remarkable and so prolific that it deserves a monograph in itself. We have a folio compartment signed by him, a tail-piece, and a printer's device, besides the alphabet which in some ways takes the first place in all English typography; and finally, devices, signed with his monogram, of printers abroad.[29] I have not been able to study the personality of the artist, or to search for biographical details; but his alphabet at least ought to be reproduced entire.

By the middle of this decade we have to consider the work of Berthelet. It is not very good, but it is distinctive. There is much which betrays at

39.—T. Berthelet.

once the influence, and the originals, of Basle. But these initials are to be found not only at Basle, or at least not merely in books with the Basle imprint. I have a book, with the I and M of this alphabet, presumably printed by Gryphius at Lyons in 1536.[30]

Of the initials in the Coverdale Bible of 1535 a C in the preliminary matter has turned up in a *Despauterius* probably printed in Paris. The P (I Peter i) occurs in a *Quintilian* printed at Cologne in 1521, and the type of No. 41 in a *Theophylactus* printed also at Cologne in 1532. This

(28) I have record of the use of this alphabet from 1533 to 1634.

(29) The identification of Anton Sylvius as the author of this work is apparently still open to question. Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters* gives notices of him and of others of his family.

(30) J. Quintinus. *Insulae Melitae descriptio.* S. Gryphius, Lugduni, 1536. 4°.

evidence may not amount to much, but it is evidence which we are bound to accumulate.

40.—Bible (Coverdale.) 1535.

41.

We have, in this enquiry, to work concurrently upon the presses abroad, as I have already said. The initial (No. 42) used by Crom at Antwerp in 1538, became common in England afterwards. I note the earliest

42.—Crom, Antwerp. *New Testament.* (1538.)

occurrence of it, that I yet found, in its own home. In Matthew's Bible, printed at Antwerp in 1537, at Esdras XII, occurs the H here reproduced.

43.—Matthew's Bible. Antwerp. (1537.)

The initial was often recut in England. A further interest is attaching to this leaf, as in some copies, including the copy in the Cambridge University Library, the leaf has been reprinted with a different initial.[31]

44.—Whitchurch. (1540.)

Decade of 1540. The decade of 1540 brings us to the work of Grafton and Whitchurch. Largely made up of foreign originals, it is

(31) This fact was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. W. Aldis Wright.

important that their many and exceedingly diverse initials should be sorted out and arranged. Their editions of the Great Bible of 1540 and 1541 are a mine in themselves. One is reproduced here (No. 44). In this, note a late use of directors. The initial A used by Whitchurch in the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus printed in 1549 deserves a special notice. If the six different issues of this book are examined, the impressions of the block will be found to divide themselves into two families, one with a single break in the upper margin, and one with four breaks. It was natural to hope that this test would enable us to determine finally the

45.—Antwerp initials used by R. Wolfe.

order of the issue, and it may still do so. But at present the evidence seems to point to the existence of two blocks of the same initial, and if this is so the enquiry has to be made afresh.[32]

I insert also specimens (No. 45) of another alphabet used at this time.

With Grafton, too, comes in the large biblical set No. 46. These letters are executed with the greatest care and artistic sense. I hesitate in the absence of present direct evidence in assigning these to any special designer; but he must have been a man of considerable distinction. We have to deal with three separate biblical alphabets, varying in size and excellence, two of which are here reproduced.

(32) *Cf.* A. F. Butsch, *op. cit. I*, 82, for the alphabet.

I may also draw attention to the great beauty and decorative sense of the initials used at Worcester in 1549, *cf.* Nos. 48 and 76.[33]

46. Biblical Set No. 1.

47. Biblical Set No. 2.

48. J. Oswen, Worcester. *Common Prayer.* (1549.)

In the decade of 1540, too, a charming little B (King David harping on his harp, upon a field vert), is used in Bankes' edition of the *Epistles and Gospels*, probably from some primer set in the *Beatus vir* of the Psalms.

(33) His blocks, it would seem, passed into the possession of J. Tysdale. An initial S, in Veron's *Fruteful Treatise*, printed by him about 1561, must belong to their set.

In 1543 and 1544 appear two letters which, according to Didot,[34] appear to have been designed by Holbein. They occur in Leland's *Genethliacon* and *Assertio*, which were printed by John Wolfe and John Herford. The S represents Curius Dentatus receiving the ambassadors sent by the Samnites. This at least is the solution given by Didot; he does not allude to the subject of the H.[35]

49.—Wolfe. (1543.)

50.—Herford. (1544.)

The problem raised by Mr. Butler and Mr. Pollard as to the Italian origin of initials used in this decade[36] is an interesting one; but we are at too early a stage to hazard much in matters of fact. At the present stage I venture to insist that our first duty towards these initials is to reproduce them.

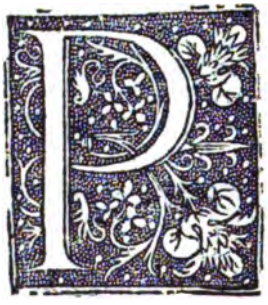
(34) *Op. cit.* For a further note on the connection between Leland and Holbein, see p. 303 of the same work.

(35) This, Mr. Pollard assures me, represents H(Eli.)

(36) A. W. Pollard, *Old Picture Books*, p. 135.

51.—Hall's *Chronicles.* (1548.)

52.—Hall's *Chronicles.* (1548.)



53.—Criblé Work. J. Day. (1549.)

Decade of 1550. By the time of the end of the decade we have to consider the work—it is almost entirely his work—produced by, or at any rate for, John Day. His cuts are continually being reproduced. The heraldic D, the A (not figured here), representing Silenus on the back of an ass, signed by the enigmatic I C,[37] the I of a military com-

54.—Day. (1550.)

55.—R. Tottell.
Magna Carta. (1556.)

mander making a trigonometrical survey, signed I D, and the T signed by the letter H were all given by Chatto and Jackson in 1839. Into the question of the identity of these engravers I do not, as I have already said, propose to enter. An initial P, used by Day in 1550, is reproduced here, as being characteristic of the mediocre work of his press. The two following letters used by Cawood in 1558 (No. 56) came from Antwerp.

56.—Antwerp initials used by Cawood in 1558.

(37) See Chatto and Jackson, p. 507–8, where the four initials are figured. There is also a note on I C in the same place (p. 507, *note*).

Decade of 1560. In the next decade Mr. Duff is of opinion that initial letters arrived at their best.[38] He cites the large Queen Elizabeth C first produced in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in 1563. It is used in several books, and has been several times reproduced. It is so good that I am tempted to compare it in its conception with the portrait of the Emperor Maximilian drawn in his *Triumphs*.[39]

57.—J. Day in W. Lambarde, Ἀρχαιονομία. (1568.)

To the decade of 1560 we must attribute the introduction of what are known as blooming initials (Nos. 58, 68–70, 72).[40] In this I may be mistaken, and it is possible that they were in use earlier in England: but since I have begun to collect evidence on this subject, no book containing them before 1564 has come before me. My earliest note of their use abroad is at present to a book printed by Moreau in the same year.

(38) A. W. Pollard. *Early Illustrated Books*, p. 247.
(39) Reproduced in Chatto and Jackson, p. 388.
(40) See note, *ante*.

Archbishop Parker's work in this decade must not be overlooked. The large heraldic T (with the arms of the Chapter of Canterbury), dated 1568, and the letters signed 'M. C.,' must be attributed to his patronage (*cf.* No. 59).

58.

59.—R. Jugge. Bishops' Bible, 1568.

60.—R. Jugge. (Matthew of Westminster, 1567.)

Decade of 1570. We come to the period of mythological subjects,[41] such as the 'Leda,' which has given the popular name to Jugge's Bible of 1572; and of factotums. Of the latter, one of the most interesting

61.—J. Day. Walsingham, *Ypodigma.* (1574.)

62.—Gardiner and Dawson. (1577.)

is in a book printed by Thomas Gardiner. On referring to Gardiner's work, I found a book printed by Gardiner with John Dawson in 1577,

(41) *Cf.* Mr. A. J. Butler's paper in *Bibliographica.*

and this block shows not only Thomas Gardiner at work with his garden shears, but also Dawson represented on the right by his natural symbol of a 'daw' staring at the 'sun.' The edition of this work in the British Museum contains a different factotum block (No. 62).

As to these factotums, Mr. Duff says, in Mr. Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books*, p. 248, of them :—

'Some ingenious printer invented the system of printing an ornamental border for the letter, with a blank space for the insertion of an ordinary

63.—(1586.) Factotum initial blocks. 64.—(1592.)

65.—Printer unknown. T. Sparke, *Sermon.* (1585.)

capital letter—a system which soon succeeded in destroying any beauty or originality which letters had up to this time possessed.'

These factotums were in general use both at Oxford and Cambridge. Mr. Bowes has reproduced some (Nos. 63, 64); and Mr. Madan in his book on the Oxford Press[42] states that he has notes of no fewer than fifteen factotums in use at Oxford, as well as of twelve initial alphabets.

As an interesting example of the utility of these initial letters in assisting in the identification of the printer, I may mention Cooper's *Thesaurus*,

(42) F. Madan, *The Early Oxford Press*, 1895, 8°, p. 250.

printed in 1573, without printer's name. It contains two initial letters, in the preface, but there is little else to be guided by, for ordinary mortals.

To this decade, too, falls the interesting work produced by Christopher Barker in honour of his patron Sir Francis Walsingham. There are only

66.—C. Barker. (1578.)

67.—H. Middleton—Snodham. (1575-1623.)

three initial letters which bear Walsingham's heraldic insignia.[43] The F and P (No. 66) contain Walsingham's crest; the T his crest and coat-of-arms. But in addition to the initials, Barker produced the well-known

68.—J. Wolfe. (1582.)

69.—Cambridge. (1588.)

70.—Cambridge. (1588.)

head-pieces and initial compartments for title-pages, all with Walsingham's insignia. These, too, like the work of Sylvius, deserve reproduction as a separate monograph.

(43) The *Athenæum* of 10 October, 1903, p. 485, announces that Dr. Karl Stählin is at work upon a life of Walsingham. It will be interesting to see how fully the author will treat this part of his subject.

Decade of 1580. In this decade we come to Denham's set, No. 71. Of this I have a continuous record from 1582 to 1655, but I know nothing of its origin. It is quite unlike any other work in England, and, further, it is not used anywhere abroad.[44] I place it as high as the work of Sylvius, if not, indeed, in some respects, still higher.

71.—H. Denham. (1582.)

Foreign Presses. Denham's initials of 1582 were the last, of any distinction, which appeared in England, for a century. I would, however, still call attention now to a separate class, hitherto overlooked. I refer to the initials used in English books printed abroad at the cryptic presses,

72.—St. Omer and Paris.

and generally supposed to have emanated from such places as St. Omer, and Douai, and Paris. They divide themselves into definite groups, and it is of a real and very obvious advantage to be able to refer to them,

(44) The Z of this alphabet has been a long time in making its appearance. It occurs in the English folio Bible of 1638-9, a copy of which is in the Acton Library at Cambridge, where I found it the summer of 1903.

in the future, pictorially. The so-called St. Omer initials occur also at Paris; and one initial, purposely mutilated on account of the subject depicted, occurs in Heigham's books both at St. Omer[45] and at Douai. Another class, Nos. 73–74, occur in foreign books printed at places like Amsterdam and Middelburg, so that, in default of better information, I

73.—Amsterdam. (1627.)

74.—R. Schilders, Middelburg. (1599.)

have ventured to define them by those names. There is yet another distinct type, No. 75, first in use in this country in the books printed at Aberdeen in 1622. There is a single specimen of it at Edinburgh. But it occurs also in the *Herwologia*, and I find it in earliest use in foreign

75.—Hanau. (1607.)

books printed at Hanau.[46] It seemed to me incredible that the Dutch bibliographers should not have definite information as to its origin. Consequently I wrote to Mr. de Vries at Leyden, who has shown me constant courtesy in correspondence extending over many years, and he

(45) A writer in the *Athenæum* of September, 1902, draws attention to the head-pieces and ornaments used in books said to have been printed at St. Omer, but really executed in Ireland. This sort of statement increases many hundredfold in utility if illustrated pictorially.

(46) H. Broughton, *Daniel.* Hanau, 1607. 4°.

forwarded my enquiry to Dr. Enschedé, of Haarlem, who is the leading expert upon the subject in Holland. But the reply came back that nothing is known.

I have here laid down the lines upon which, as I think, the study of our English letters may proceed. But when this has been worked out, there is yet the codification of our English Printers' Marks to be undertaken. These two sets ended, there is the further question of English ornaments to be considered, of quite equal interest. When these three classes of enquiry have been completed and published in a form as satisfactory as that of Holtrop, or Heitz, or Butsch, we may be in a position to know something of the art of book-ornamentation in this country, since the invention of printing.

76.—J. Oswen, Ipswich. Calvin *Mynde . . . of Calvin.* (1548.)

THE FRENCH ROYAL GREEK TYPES AND THE ETON *CHRYSOSTOM.*

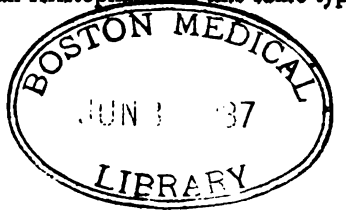
By ROBERT PROCTOR.

Read February 16th, 1903.

ENORMOUS and far-reaching as was the influence of the Aldine Press, whether looked at from the literary or the typographical point of view, it is astonishing that in its second aspect, as far as the north side of the Alps is concerned, its effect was obtained not directly but indirectly. In German and French-speaking countries no fount of Greek type owing anything to Aldus existed until 1514, in which year Hans Froben introduced the type which is seen at its best in the folio Greek-Latin New Testament of Erasmus, published in 1516. Though clearly based on that smallest of the Aldine Greek founts which was used throughout the long series of Greek texts printed in the office of Aldus and his father-in-law from 1502 to 1513 and later, it shows considerable divergences from its model, almost all making for greater simplicity and clearness. It may be doubted whether this was intended as a concession to the weakness of Northern scholarship, or whether it was not rather due to the want of skill of the German foundries in casting the overhanging sorts; but the result is that the page has a less crowded effect than that of the Venice books. With very few exceptions outside the Saxon school, all the Greek types of newer style used by the more progressive printers in Germany at this time (which hardly means more than Hans Schöffer at

Mainz, Thomas Anshelm at Tübingen and Hagenau, and one or two printers at Strassburg and Köln) are close copies of Froben's letter, and faithfully reproduce its peculiarities. It was not till 1521, when perhaps the success of his Latin octavos of 1519 and 1520, printed in italic type, may have induced him to attempt a similar enterprise for Greek texts, that Froben recast this fount of his on a smaller body with a certain number of new compendia or tied sorts, and made it more uniform in appearance with the Aldine type. There are, however, certain characteristic forms by which the Froben Greek and its derivatives at this period may be distinguished from those of Italian origin, though it would be difficult and tedious to enumerate them here.

Nor was it only in Germany that the Froben influence made itself felt. In Paris the first Greek press, that of Tissard and Gourmont, was entirely independent of external influences in much the same way as the Greek types of the Saxon school, the printers of Leipzig, Erfurt, and Wittenberg, long maintained their individuality; and for many years the Gourmont type in its second state, or a character based on it, was the only one used at Paris. At last, in 1521, the very year in which Froben's remodelled type first appeared in his *Scriptores Gnomici*, the first Greek texts which owed nothing to Gourmont's model were issued, and not only one, but two printers independently took a fresh line. The one we are first and most concerned with is Pierre Vidoue; and as soon as we learn that his first Greek book, the "Hieroglyphics" of Horus Apoilo, was published by Conrad Resch, at the sign of the Basel Arms, we are prepared for what we find there. In fact, Resch himself lived at Basel, and had only a bookselling agency in Paris. The Horus Apollo is printed in a type which is very closely akin to Froben's, without actual identity. The most obvious difference is the body, which is nearly halfway between Froben's two founts, being in the proportion of 20 to 22 to the earlier, of 20 to 17 to the later. It is curious to note that Gilles de Gourmont himself, seven years later, in 1528, commissioned Vidoue to print for him an Aristophanes in this same type. In 1526, Resch sold his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house in Paris to Christian Wechel, the founder of the famous firm of that name; it seems, therefore, that Vidoue was the owner of this type, and not Resch, Wechel's earliest Greek books being printed in one of a similar face but different body.

At the risk of wearying you I should like to say a few words about the Greek books printed in Paris at this period, so that you may see that the action of Francis I only stimulated an already widespread tendency, and by no means marks the starting point of enterprise in this direction. The types used at this period are an interesting though complicated study; their number, and the alternation of similarity in general and divergence in detail with differences as a whole partially disguised by agreement in individual features, make any result which is attainable far too bewildering to be easily communicated. Roughly speaking, however, two main branches, as already mentioned, may be distinguished, both taking their rise in the same year; the one derived from Basel, the other of independent origin. Each of these branches may be subdivided into the sloping and upright varieties, the upright being as a rule the later.

Of other types belonging, like that of Vidoue, to the Basel school, but of more formal style, I will mention three only. One is that used by Josse Bade in 1529 for his Commentaries on the Greek Language by Guillaume Budé; the second is the larger of two founts employed by Gerardus Morrhius, who, according to Greswell, issued ten Greek books in his first year (1530). Bodé's type is cast on the two-line brevier body of the roman used for Budé's Latin text, though its face is no larger than that of Morrhius', which is english. The third of these formal founts is that with which the celebrated Michel Vascosan printed his first Greek books in 1532.

Then we come to the other main group, which are as a rule free from any distinctively Froben influence, and may perhaps be referred to a non-Aldine Italian source; it is possible, however, that they are the result of a modification of Italian styles by comparison with the Gourmont characters. The first type of this class is a very sloping and ill-balanced fount, not unlike the earlier Aldines in this respect, but of inferior execution. It is

found in the Grammar of Gaza, printed by Josse Bade in 1521. The next type, that of Simon de Colines, in his Sophokles of 1528, is at the other extremity of the scale. From the connection of de Colines with Geoffroy Tory, and the latter's examples of Greek letters in his "Champfleury," we might have expected here also to find common ground; yet the Greek words which occur in the text of "Champfleury" are set with ancient letters of the sort prevalent in Germany before Froben's introduction of Italian forms in 1514, while the Sophokles type is very upright and close, clean, firm, and well cut of its kind, and of smaller body than most of its contemporaries, being little larger than pica. In 1532 de Colines used a different type for his New Testament. It is less formal, though in the same style, and is of slightly larger (nearly english) body; the triangular delta and circular compendium for ος of 1528 have vanished, but the tall C-shaped sigma is introduced first in 1532.

Another printer of this period, Antoine Augereau, who, in 1533, issued an edition of Hesiod's "Works and Days," had a type hardly distinguishable from this de Colines' type of 1532, except that it has the triangular delta. In 1540 Simon de Colines owned yet a third fount of Greek, a little larger than his second; it has the C-shaped sigma, and the compendium for ος, but not the delta. The type of Conrad Neobar, the first royal printer of Greek, can hardly be distinguished from this 1540 fount of de Colines, but it has one striking feature, to wit, the entire absence of capitals. Two more Paris printers who produced work before 1544 may be mentioned; the first, Jean Loys, of Thiele, who began with the "Oikonomikos" of Xenophon in 1535; his type is like that of Neobar; the second, Jacques Bogard, printed Xenophon's Memoirs of Sokrates in 1541, and in 1543 had two Greek types in his stock.

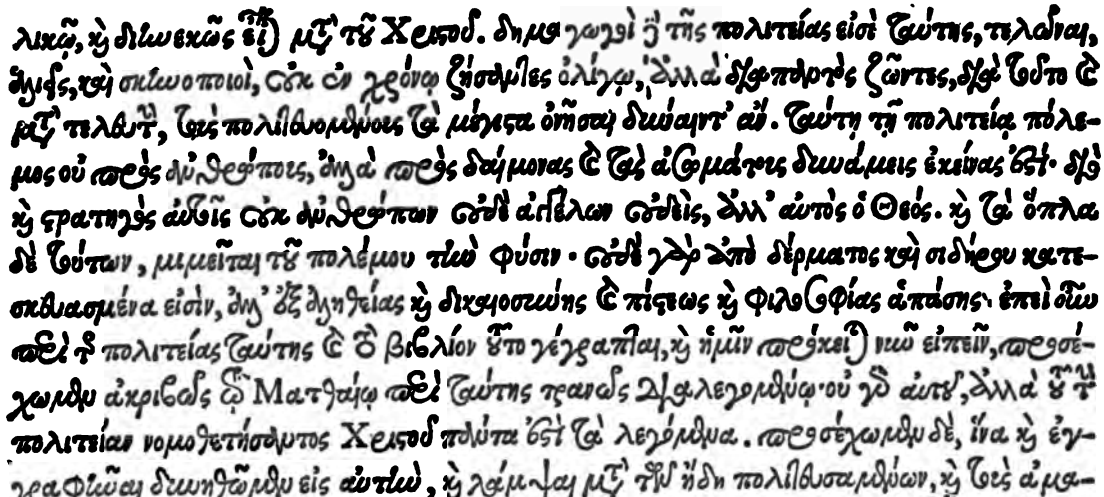
A third group deserves a passing mention; it consists of types unconnected with each other, except by their smaller size. The first of these, used in 1523 by Gilles de Gourmont for the lexicon of Guillaume Maine and Jean Chéradame, is closely allied to the more formal style of the founts independent of Froben. It is rather less than pica, but is much

larger than the others, the most curious of which is that used for the Grammar of Theodoros Gaza, published in 1529 by Pierre Gaudoul and Pierre Gromors, in duodecimo. The printer's name is not given, but as Gromors was, to some extent, a printer as well as a stationer, the book is probably his work. The type is hardly larger than long primer, and is quite different from the small pica fount of Morrhius used by him in February, 1530–31, to print a lexicon. Lastly, there is the smaller of Bogard's types already referred to.

This list is by no means exhaustive, but quite superficial; but when it is remembered that many of these men printed not one Greek book or two, but a considerable number, it is clear that the move of Francis I was not prompted by any desire to supply a felt want, but rather owed its motive force to the already existing activity in this respect, and was not a new departure, as was the enterprise of Aldus in Italy fifty years earlier. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the whole business is that when the royal types were completed hardly any use was made of them for a good many years. Robert Estienne, in the years 1544 to 1551, seems to have printed no single piece of classical Greek, except Dionysius of Halicarnassus in 1546, Dio Cassius and some dialogues of Lucian in 1548; the whole number of Greek books issued by him in those years was in fact scarcely more than a dozen, little more than the output of Morrhius for a single year, though no doubt bulkier on the average, and certainly edited with greater care. The result may in part be due to the king's death in 1547, but the change is not apparent in the lists of books published, and the largest of the founts was undertaken after that event had come to pass.

But we must turn back to the year 1539, when the king took a decisive step with the object of encouraging the spread of a knowledge of Greek literature. By his letters patent of 17 January, $153\frac{8}{9}$ he appointed Conrad Neobar, a German from the diocese of Köln, royal printer in Greek, under the direction of the royal professors at the University, the object being to print Greek texts from manuscripts in the royal library. Nothing is said in this document—no word is said—of any intention to

provide a special fount, and in fact, as we have seen, that used by Neobar differs in no essential from the other types currently in use at the period. The first book printed by Neobar as "typographus regius" seems to be the anonymous and fragmentary commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric, the dedication of which is dated 1539, August 12. Neobar died, it is said, of overwork, at the end of 1540, and was succeeded in his office by Robert Estienne, whose press had been at work since 1526, but had as yet produced little or nothing in Greek. To him is generally assigned the credit for the initiation of the scheme for a special fount of type. But when we consider that as early as 1541, October 1, the sum of 225 sols tournois was ordered to be paid from the treasury for punches, which were presumably already cut, and the time necessary for preliminary negotiations, experiments, and the preparation of working drawings, the conviction is forced upon us that the first steps were taken by Neobar before his death. The drawings were made by Angelos Vergetios, a celebrated calligrapher, called by Francis I, in 1545, "notre écrivain en grec," who was employed by the king in making transcripts of Greek texts for the royal collection; some of his manuscripts are still kept among the books of Francis I's library in the Bibliothèque Nationale. But the success of the undertaking was due to the punch-cutter and typefounder, Claude Garamond. At first, as is clear from the prefaces of Estienne to his New Testaments of 1546 and 1550, one fount only was contemplated, the great primer, which was first made, and at a later time formed the middle type (fac-sim. 1) of the three which were known as Royal Types. The first book printed with it was the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, edited from a manuscript in the royal library, and dated 1544. As the imprint says, it is "ex bibliotheca regia, ex typographia typographi regii," though it does not add the words "regiis typis," which are first found in 1546. It bears on its titlepage, for the first time, the device which all its successors maintained for many years, a spear wound about with olive branches and a serpent, symbolical of wisdom in war and peace, and below it the motto: *βασιλεῖ τ' ἀγαθῷ κρατέρῳ τ' αἰχμήτῃ·* "to the wise king and the valiant warrior."



1.—Lower part of leaf [V^a] of the Preface to the Greek New Testament. *Lutetiæ. Ex officina Roberti Stephani, etc.* 1550. Showing the middle royal type.

This most famous of all Greek types is in no sense a new departure. It carries out to an extent until then unattained the practice, universal at the time, of making Greek letters reproductions as close as possible of the elaborate involved current writing hand of the day; but is simply an improvement of existing founts on the same lines in respect of size, of form, and of execution. From the point of view which for three hundred years was the universal one, the praises lavished on it are fully justified; it was, and is, by far the best type of its kind that has ever been made. It is only in very recent years that opinion has undergone a change in this matter.

If Greek types were gradually simplified during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those who brought about this modification were careful to excuse themselves by pleading the necessity of relieving the compositor's burden, while they admitted the loss of beauty and variety which their efforts involved; it is true, in fact, that the movement was purely utilitarian, and the result, though easier to compose and to read, and cheaper to produce, loses more by its lack of variety than it gains in restfulness, and is, on the whole, less pleasing to a discerning eye. The two fundamental propositions which underlie the acceptance of this ideal were, at the time of the change, still looked upon as axioms and taken for granted; and it is probably barely thirty years since anyone ventured openly to question their authority. The two propositions are these: first, that Greek type should be a reproduction of handwriting as close as possible; second, that the calligraphy of the late renascence period was the *ne plus ultra* of human effort in that direction. If we accept these propositions we can with a whole heart add our voices to the praises which three centuries have lavished on the royal types. But the world is now beginning to realise not only that there was Greek writing before the fifteenth century, and that it was of a nobler style (a discovery which, in the case of Latin writing, the writers of manuscripts in that same century had found out for themselves and acted upon), but also that handwriting can no more be translated directly into the form of types in Greek than in

Roman letters, and no more than a painted picture can be translated directly into a woven tapestry, except by losing in the process the best and most characteristic features of both. Thus, when Robert Estienne or Pierre Victoire at one end of the scale, and Duprat, Renouard, and Didot at the other, find no praise too high to bestow on the royal types, we can approve their zeal, while feeling that we no longer look on the matter from their standpoint. I will quote the words of Victoire: "Besides gathering," says he, "from all quarters the remains of Hellenic literature, Francis I added another benefit, itself most valuable, to the adornment of this same honourable craft of printing; for he provided by the offer of large moneys for the making of extremely graceful letters both of Greek and Latin. In this also he was fortunate; for they were so nimbly and delicately devised that it can scarce be conceived that human wit may compass anything more dainty and exquisite; so that the books printed with these types do not merely invite the reader, they draw him, so to say, by an irresistible attraction."

We can fully agree with this eulogy so far as it deals with the technical excellence of the fount. I speak as an outsider, but I believe that an English typefounder of to-day would add his testimony to that of the French experts who have treated this subject, that for evenness of colour, for precision of casting, and for the exactness of alignment and justification, these founts are unsurpassable.

One manifest improvement was introduced, or rather restored, by the Estiennes; I speak of the upper case letters. From the time that Aldus cut his third fount, all Greek types, including that of Froben and its derivatives, and the independent French types, were disgraced by capitals which were much too small for their place, and of mean and insignificant appearance. It was, perhaps, a conviction of this that led Neobar to discard capitals altogether. The vogue, if not the origin, of these letters was doubtless due to the endeavour to set breathings or accents on upper case initial vowels without the trouble of filing and soldering them on, or of increasing largely the size of the case, already so enormous, and to the difficulty of doing

this with letters of full size. It was left for an Estienne to rectify this fault and bring printers back to the older practice, though it must be confessed that the new capitals (fac-sim. 2) are too prepensely roman to be altogether satisfactory; but the change seems to be due not to Robert, as might be expected, but to his brother François. I purposely omitted him when speaking just now of the Paris printers of Greek, thinking that he might best be mentioned here. François, who is believed to have been the eldest son of Henri Estienne, the founder of the race, was hardly an independent printer, being always closely associated with Simon de Colines, who was at once his stepfather and his father-in-law. But two Greek books, a psalter and a book of hours, both dated 1543, that is a year earlier than his brother Robert's *Eusebius*, bear his name as their printer, and it is in these that the larger capitals make their appearance. The type is unlike the other Parisian Greek founts, but vividly recalls the second Aldine; and the innovation may point to a direct connection. But neither these nor those of the royal types are really successful; they are, as has been said, too prepensely Latin to harmonise with the lower case, a fault shared by all types with similar capitals from the *Anthology* of 1494 downwards.

It is, indeed, strange to mark that hardly any Greek type of any date can be named which has had satisfactory capitals; those of the earliest founts were too ornate to be legible, and indeed look their worst when set up in line, the ultimate test for the æsthetic value of all upper case letters. Those of Kallierges are the best, being designed to suit the lower case, and do so to some extent; but they are rather knock-kneed and flabby when seen together. It has, however, been reserved for our own day, in this as in other things, to show what depths can be reached in this respect; I refer to the set of sloping capitals recently perpetrated by the University Press at Cambridge.

To return to the royal types and their history; we find that immediately after the completion of the great primer fount the pica type (fac-sim. 3) must have been put in hand. This, the smallest of the three royal types, is, generally speaking, merely a reduction of the great primer, with such

ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.
Πρὸς Κορινθίους β'.
Πρὸς Γαλάτας.
Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.
Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους.
Πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς.
Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β'.
Πρὸς Τιμόθεον β'.
Πρὸς Τίτον.
Πρὸς Φιλήμονα.
Πρὸς Ἑβραίους.

ΑΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

Ἰακώβου.
Πέτρου β'.
Ἰωάννου γ'.
Ἰούδα.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ.

2.—Page from the Greek New Testament of 1550. Showing upper case letters.

variations as are naturally found in the work of a skilled hand before the days of slavish copying or photography. Its *raison d'être* is set forth in the preface to the first book printed with it, the aforementioned O mirificam New Testament, in sixteens, of 1546, which begins thus: "O the marvellous liberality of our king, that most excellent and noble prince! for feeling that such were needed to bring together into a narrow compass books of large volume, he bade engrave these smaller Greek characters, which in elegance rival the former, though those were of all letters the most beautiful. These having been delivered to me for the good of the world of letters, how could I better inaugurate their use than by a sacred text, and what text is more holy and august than the gospel?" It may be worth noting, as we pass, that the price of this book was fixed in 1547 at 8 sols, and in 1552 it had risen to 10 sols. By 1568, as we shall see, it was hard to procure.

It was this small type which, on account of its convenient size, most often served as a model to other founders; it was, for instance, closely copied as early as 1549 by Benoît Prevost, who issued another sextodecimo New Testament in that year. The founts based on this pica royal quickly ousted the older founts of Swiss or Italian origin, but as it is of no special interest here we may pass to the third and largest of the royal types (fac-sim. 4). There seems to be no direct statement in existence of the reasons which led to the production of this third and finest variety; the preface to the folio New Testament of 1550, in which it is used for the first time, merely states that the critical notes, which, owing to its small size, could not be given in the sextodecimo, are added to this edition, which is printed in the *typi maiores regii*. It is the first really critical edition of the New Testament, readings being given from the Alcala Polyglott and fifteen manuscripts; it is, moreover, the first book, and the only one printed by Robert Estienne, in which all three of the royal founts are used together; it contains also a copy of verses by Robert's son Henri, then just twenty-one, afterwards his father's successor at Geneva and Casaubon's father-in-law. It was to prove the climax of Robert's troubles. He had been long

Ϛλημῶνα ὁμ ἡ τῶ οὐρίου. σιλωμὼν ὃ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ῥοβοάμ. ῥοβοὰμ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἀβιά. ἀζια δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἀσά. ἀσὰ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ἰωσαφάτ. ἰωσαφὰτ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἰωρὰμ. ἰωρὰμ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ὀζίαν. ὀζίας δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἰωάθαμ. ἰωάθαμ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἄχαζ. ἄχαζ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ἐζεκίαν. ἐζεκίας ὃ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ μανασσῆ. μανασσῆς ὃ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἀμών. ἀμὼν δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἰωσίαν. ἰωσίας δὲ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ἰεχονίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος. μετὰ ὃ τὴν μετοικεσίαν βαβυλῶνος, ἰεχονίας ἐγέννησε τὸν σαλαθιήλ. Ϛαλαθιὴλ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ζοροβάβελ. ζοροβάβελ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἀβιούδ. ἀβιοὺδ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν Ϛλιακείμ. ἐλιακεὶμ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ἀζὼρ. ἀζὼρ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν σαδώκ. Ϛαδὼκ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ἀχείμ. ἀχεὶμ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν Ϛελιούδ. ἐλιοὺδ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν Ϛελάζαρ. Ϛελάζαρ δὲ ἡ ῥήσει τὸν ματθάν. ματθὰν δὲ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἰακώβ. ἰακὼβ ὃ ἡ ῥήσει ἡ ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ἰησοῦς, ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός. πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ, ἀπὸ ἀβραὰμ ἕως δαβὶδ, γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες·

3.—From the Greek New Testament. *Lutetiæ. Ex officina Roberti Stephani, typographi Regij, typis Regijs.* 1546.

suspected, and not without good cause, of heretical opinions; Francis I had been dead three years, and the Grand Almoner, Du Chastel, Bishop of Mâcon, who had protected him for some time against the attacks of the Sorbonne doctors, was now either less friendly than before or less powerful. At any rate, the persecution of the Sorbonists, whose dictum, "It is Greek, can't be read," had, perhaps, more to be said for it in one sense than their opponents believed, induced Robert to transfer his family and business to Geneva in the course of the next year. He succeeded in doing this without arousing suspicion, and all that the Government could do was to sequestrate his printing office and stock. But they acted with great moderation; the property was soon handed over to Robert the younger (the fugitive's second son, who is denounced in his father's will as having reverted to Catholicism), and his uncle Charles. They even retained some, at least, of the royal type, though Adrianus Turnebus was named royal printer of Greek in succession to the elder Robert, and employed Guillaume Morel to do the printing for him. In 1554 appeared an Anacreon, with the Estienne device and the imprint *Apud Henricum Stephanum* on the title page; in this book all three of the royal types were used, just as in 1550, without any change. The elder Robert took a set of the matrices with him to Geneva, at any rate of the two smaller types; it is always asserted—on what grounds I do not know—that he had not those for the largest type. That he had a perfect right to do this is abundantly clear from the fact that no charge of dishonesty was ever made against him by his bitterest enemies till it was trumped up sixty years later by the Jesuit controversialists. At least one other set of matrices was left at Paris. That it was not merely type would be evident from the fact that for many years all the leading printers in Paris continued to use the royal types, which, after Robert Estienne's flight to Geneva, were no longer confined to a single office, but were sold to anyone who wished to buy them, if there were not conclusive proof in the fact that the types were sometimes cast on a slightly different body from the original. Thus, in 1568, the younger Robert Estienne re-issued his father's New Testament in sixteens of 1546

τοῖς ἕνδεκα ἐφανερώθη, καὶ ὠνείδισε τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν, ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγηγερμένον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα, κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς, σωθήσεται· ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας, κατακριθήσεται. Σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύσασι, ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσι· γλώσσαις λαλήσουσι καιναῖς· ὄφεις ἀροῦσι· κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν, οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ· ἐπὶ ἀῤῥώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσι, καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος, μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου συνεργοῦντος, καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. ἀμήν.

Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον ἐγράφη ἐν στίχοις αφκ, κεφαλαίοις σλς'.

4.—Lower part of page 95 of the Greek New Testament. *Lutetiæ. Ex officina Roberti Stephani, typographi Regij, Regijs typis.* 1550.

and 1549, with the addition of the critical notes from the folio of 1550. In his preface to this he says: "Having learned that the New Testament in this small format which my father twice issued is daily asked for by many persons, I have caused it to be reprinted in the same character. The text type is the pica royal, but though the face is the same, the body is slightly reduced." For this to be possible, matrices must have been available. They may, of course, have been made afresh from the punches after Robert's flight, but this is improbable, because the punches had been deposited in the Chambre des Comptes, and the history of the royal types at the beginning of the next century shows that by then their existence must have been forgotten; so it is most likely that they were never disturbed. This New Testament of 1568, just spoken of, contains, besides the text, a table of chapters printed in an exceedingly minute type, on a brevier body; it is practically a reproduction of the pica royal on a much smaller scale. But this is not the first of its kind. As early as 1553 there appeared a New Testament at Geneva from the press of Jean Crespin. Crespin is generally held to have been a bitter trade rival of the elder Robert, and one main cause of his financial difficulties; but in February, 1553, at a time, that is, when the only Greek book produced by Robert Estienne since leaving Paris was the *editio princeps* of Calvin's Catechism, dated 1551, and therefore the very first book printed by him at Geneva. Crespin brought out this Testament, printed in the actual pica type of the "O mirificam" editions, and therefore presumably published by arrangement with Estienne. Crespin's edition, like the 1568 Paris one, has the various readings of the 1550 folio added in the margins, and these are in a much smaller type, also copied from the pica royal, but different from that of the younger Robert, being slightly larger.

Thus, from the date of Robert Estienne leaving Paris, the pedigree of the royal types split into two branches, one fruitful and the other barren. The fruitful, or Paris, branch spread its influence everywhere, either by the original founts or copies of them. An example of the former is the case of the famous house of Wechel. Andreas, the son of Christian

Wechel, having with difficulty survived the Massacre of S. Bartholomew by the aid of Hubert Languet, escaped to Frankfurt-am-Main, and took with him a set of letters of all three royal types. Andreas himself died in 1581, but his business was carried on by his son John, and by Claude Marny and Jean Aubrey, like himself, Huguenot refugees. In 1586 they published the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in folio, in the middle type, and some years later, in 1601, it may be supposed by way of showing what they could do, they issued an exact reprint of Robert Estienne's folio New Testament of 1550 in the same types, all three being used in the volume.

As an instance of the copying that went on, a still more famous printer may serve. In pursuance of the project of the great polyglott bible, Christophe Plantin had to obtain a Greek fount of large size. He naturally turned to the royal type; but either there was a prohibition against selling the type to foreign printers, or the large amount required made it necessary to have matrices at hand; at any rate, what Plantin did was to commission Robert Granjon, of Lyon, to cut him a new type modelled exactly on the largest of the royal types, and this accordingly was done; the result is, however, decidedly inferior to the original in delicacy of line and harmony. The copies, better or worse, of the two smallest types, I mean the pica of 1546 and the brevier of 1568, were innumerable.

While, on the Paris side, these types were winning an ever extending vogue, the fate of those at Geneva was far other. Robert Estienne died in 1559, and was succeeded by his son, Henri, who carried on the business till his death in 1598. At some period before this—some writers say in Robert's lifetime, but the general opinion is that it was later—the Greek matrices were pawned to Nicolas le Clerc for four hundred crowns in gold, and were still unredeemed at Henri's death; his heirs thereupon became liable for the money, and as Paul Estienne, Henri's son, got into trouble over politics, and had to flee from the city, and in any case was a penniless and thriftless ne'er-do-well, the debt really devolved on the great scholar Casaubon, whose wife was Henri's daughter Florence, and who claimed the reversion of these matrices as part of his wife's dowry.

Having reached this point, we must cross over to England and work up to the point at which the history of the royal types crosses that (such as it is) of Greek printing on this side of the Channel. Greek learning was, indeed, a fragile flower, and resting, as it did, almost wholly upon theology, even so usually at this time depended on the efforts of a single scholar. Such in the sixteenth century was Cheke, and such at a later date was Savile, though both turned to the fathers rather than to classical writers. As everyone knows, the first Greek text printed in England was the edition of two homilies of Chrysostom, who thus takes, as he was to keep, the primacy among Greek authors in this country; the book was brought out by Cheke, with a Latin version of his own, and was printed by Reginald Wolfe. Mr. Plomer's researches have shown that, although his English contemporaries called him a German, and Herbert, on the authority of Baker's letters to Ames, says that he was born in Germany, or at Zürich, Wolfe was not, as one would have expected, a member of the celebrated family of Wolff who were printers at Basel, for he seems to have been a native of the Betuwe district in Gelderland. But in spite of this, it is indisputable that his Greek type is in all respects the same as that in which Hieronymus Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius printed an edition of *Plato* in 1534.

The Chrysostom of 1543 was not followed by other books, and the Greek printing in England (except at Oxford) before Savile is confined to a couple of New Testaments (Vautrollier, 1587, and Barker, 1592), *two editions of Nowell's Catechism (R. Wolfe, 1573, and John Day, 1584), Homer's Iliad (G. Bishop, 1591), some Homilies of Chrysostom (once more), edited from a New College MS. by John Harmar (Bishop and Newbery, 1590), †Crespin's Greek-Latin Lexicon (Binneman, 1581), Estienne's Selections from the Greek Anthology (Adam Islip, 1597), and no doubt a few more. All these are set up in small types, the largest being pica, except the Catechism printed by Wolfe in 1573, which is in the type of his 1543 Chrysostom.

* Mr. Proctor subsequently noted other editions of 1575, 1577, 1578.

† A subsequent note refers to Selections from Plutarch, etc., of the same year.

Τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης τῆς αἰσθητῆς καὶ λεωφόρου τὸ μὲν ἔστιν ὑπτια καὶ λεῖα, τὰ δὲ τραχύτερα· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν τὰ μὲν ἔστιν αὐτόθεν πᾶσιν εὐσύνοπτα, τὰ δ' πλείονος ἐξεργασίας καὶ πόνου δεόμενα. ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ἱστορίαν καὶ λέξιν ὁδεύωμεν ὁδόν, οὐ πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ ἀκριβείας· ὅταν δ' ὑπόνοιαν καὶ τροπὴν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἀναπομφὴν τὴν ἀκρόασιν, καὶ ὅταν κρημνῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀπειλημμένοι, πφούσης ἡμῖν δεῖ ψυχῆς καὶ διεγηγερμένης, τῆς δυσχωρείας ῥᾳδιουμένης ὅτε ἐπιτρεπούσης. κἂν γὰρ μακρὰν ὁδὸν βαδιεῖν, μόνου τοῦ ποδὸς ὀλιθήσαντος, ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα κατακρημνίζεται, κἂν εἰς φάραγγας κατακύψῃ κάτω, σκοτοδινιῷ κατενεχθὲν καὶ ἀφέρεται. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὅταν μὲν εὔκολα καὶ ῥάδια τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ διηθούσας ἴδῃς, ὅταν δ' τραχύτερα ᾖ τοῦ σώματος εὔπορον διαβῆναι. διὸ νήφειν ἅπασαν δεῖ ἐγρηγορέναι, ὅταν διαύσια διαβαίνωμεν χωρία, ὥστε μὴ πολὺ τῶν ἐκάτωθεν ἡμῖν ἡδέσθαι τοῦ κίνδυνον. δεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς ποτε μὲν ἐν τοῖς εὐκολωτέροις ὑμᾶς ἐγυμνάζομεν, ποτὲ δ' ὅτε ἐν δυσκολώτερα ἄγομεν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ πόνου ὑμῖν τὸ ἀνδρωδέστερον ἐπιδείξωμεθα, καὶ τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐκβάλωμεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ διὰ παντὸς εὐθυδρομίας ἀπολαύοντες, ἀσθενέστεροι γίνονται, οὕτως οἱ διὰ παντὸς τραχείας ἐλαύνοντες, πρὸς τὸν πόνον ἀπαγινώσκουσι. δεῖ τοίνυν ἀναμέμῖχθαι τῆς διδασκαλίας εἶδος, καὶ νῦν μὲν τοῦτο, νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνο μεταλλεύειν, ὥστε μήτε χαλᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέσον τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν, μήτε διατεινομένην

ὑπὲρ

5.—Lower part of page 168 of Tom. V. of the Eton *Chrysostom*. 1611.

From 1586 onwards Joseph Barnes, at Oxford, produced a fair number of Greek books, beginning also with a Chrysostom,* but these were of small interest externally, and little more attractive than the London books.

Thus we come to Savile. It is needless here to give any account of his life. He was made Provost of Eton in 1596, and his great object in life was to collect all the works of Chrysostom, an achievement as yet unaccomplished. "I have been fired," he says in his preface, "with a passion for this great man from my earliest youth; and I saw by far the more part of his works lying forgotten in odd corners of libraries, foul with neglect, or eaten away by mildew. Wherefore, after examining some twelve years since all the libraries in Britain, public or private, and noting what in them might be of service to me in my contemplated task, I called to my aid certain scholars versed in the Greek tongue and of ready pen, alike in Germany, Italy, France, and the Far East, to make known to me what I did not possess, and to collate it with a second or third manuscript; and for that which I already had, to correct it from the same codices. For somewhat of this writer, who is as it were a god to the Greeks, is to be found in every library not wholly destitute of Greek manuscripts." In fact as early as August, 1602, we find Casaubon, then Keeper of the Royal Library at Paris, writing to Savile (Letter 1031) concerning Chrysostom, a writer in whom Casaubon himself was deeply interested. It must have been about 1605 or 1606 that Savile began to consider the establishment of a press at Eton itself, under his own eye. The details of his efforts to obtain a suitable fount of type are obscure, but some facts and inferences may be drawn from Casaubon's letters, which are our chief source of information on this point. Savile evidently thought at once of the royal type, and having ascertained from Casaubon, as we may suppose, his latent ownership in the matrices at Geneva, entered into negotiations to secure them. Casaubon's Ephemerides are lost from January, 1604, to June, 1607, but a letter (No. 546) of March, 1607, tells us that Casaubon had, during the past

* This Mr. Proctor noted as being in the smallest type used. Binneman also prints with this.

winter, sent his amanuensis (who, we learn from the Ephemerides, was his nephew Isaac Chabannes) to Geneva on business, probably chiefly connected with his sister's affairs. This ended in August, 1607, with the collapse of his efforts and the loss by Casaubon of 1,300 crowns. Towards the end of the same year Paul Estienne, his brother-in-law, came to Paris, and, after a good deal of negotiation, Casaubon sent him to Geneva in December, furnished with all the money he could raise, and authority to pledge his credit for a further 200 crowns, no doubt in order to endeavour by its means to rescue the matrices from the hands of Le Clerc's heirs. It will be remembered that the sum for which they had been pledged was 400 crowns. The magistrates of Geneva promptly impounded the money which Paul had brought with him, amounting to 200 crowns, or half the debt, paid it to the Le Clercs as an instalment of what was due to them, decided that by the terms of Robert Estienne's will the matrices were inalienable, and sent Casaubon's messenger away empty. Casaubon bitterly bewails this injustice in his letters, especially in one to Jacques Leet, once his dearest friend, who now, however, took his fellow-townsmen's side in this matter. The letter (605) is dated 1608, July 5. In it he says: "How often have I told you that five hundred pieces of gold sent from England have been for a whole year lying at the illustrious ambassador's, to be paid me for that treasure you wot of?" The English envoy here referred to was Carew, a common friend of Savile and Casaubon. He held a Protestant service at the Embassy, and his wife had a great affection for Casaubon's eldest and beloved daughter Philippa, who died suddenly in the spring of this same year (1608) at the age of seventeen. Casaubon adds: "When the news arrived of the Geneva decision, I consulted the highest authorities among the Protestants here, Mercier, Didier, Herault, and Diodati, himself a Genevese, but an honourable man." Having read the will of Robert Estienne, they were unanimously of opinion that the decision was outrageously unjust.

*At an earlier date Casaubon had written to Diodati (1508, April 30, letter 1039): "Bis ad me super matricibus Graeci characteris scripsit Laurentius rector scholae vestrae. Ostendi illi summae iniquitatis facinus ipsum aggredi, et quidem tum putaui imprudentem. Oraui etiam, obsecraui . . . . Adeo nulla mei ratio est habita ut eo urgente factum est decretum quo nullum potuisse fieri iniquius omnes hic consentiunt iuris consulti."

Savile of course realised at once that his hopes in this direction were at an end. Unable to obtain the original, he set himself to procure the closest available copy, and certainly lost no time in doing so. It was now the summer of 1608. The years 1611 and 1612 each produced three volumes of Chrysostom, so we may take that as the normal output of his press. For 1610 we have two volumes of Chrysostom and two quarto books, so that this year, too, is practically full.

Taking into consideration, then, the time required for casting the type when obtained, and the necessary experiments (Savile himself, in his preface, speaks of the number of errata caused by the *inscitia et oscitantia typographorum*), we can see that a year is none too much to allow for these; consequently, the matrices must almost certainly have been bought in the second half of 1608. Now the question is, where did this Chrysostom type come from? The name of "Silver Type" given to this fount is possibly due to the story told by Pierre de S. Romuald, that the matrices which he charges Robert Estienne with stealing were made of silver; but whatever the reason for the name, it is convenient to use it. The usual account of the origin of the Silver Type, is that it came from Holland. I cannot trace this story further back than Hallam's "Literature of Europe," nor can I find any sign of such a fount in that country. It is, of course, usually supposed that the type was specially designed for Savile; but, as I have shown above, there was not enough time for so lengthy an operation. The following suggestions may help towards a solution of the problem, though I can offer no conclusive proof. We know that two of Casaubon's most esteemed correspondents, Hoeschel and Lingelsheim to wit, lived at Frankfurt on the Main, and that he always sent letters by the Paris or London booksellers who went thither in July or August to the autumn book fair. We know also from the researches of Herr Spirgatis that Savile's printer, John Norton, was one of the most regular English attendants at the fair. It therefore seemed to me worth while to compare the Silver Type with the Wechel type of 1586, which is, in fact, the great primer royal type pure and simple. I found several slight variations, enough to show that

the Silver Type is a copy, not the original; and the same held good in respect of the New Testament of 1601, which is also printed "typis Wechelianis." But on turning to the Demosthenes of 1604, printed by the same firm, but no longer "typis Wechelianis," I found the type to be identical with the Silver Type, except for a single sort which is not used in 1604 (a combination of ει used at the beginning of a word, very common in the Chrysostom), and except for a slight difference in the body and in the colour, implying a recast, which is, of course, postulated in any case. What happened, I take it, is this: that the Marnys and Aubrys had a set of punches cut, imitating the royal types as closely as possible, for their general use, as they possessed only the actual type of the original fount, and could not replace it; and that what Savile bought was a duplicate set of matrices from these. The existence of the extra sorts in the Silver Type may be accounted for in one of two ways; it may have been added to the Frankfurt fount between 1604 and 1608, or, in accordance with a practice said to be common among typefounders of that time, it was specially made in order to differentiate the type as sold to Savile from that which remained in the sellers' hands. I offer this as a hypothesis which seems to suit the facts, that Norton bought the matrices for Savile at the Frankfurt fair in the autumn of 1608. But this refers only to the larger fount of type used in the Eton books; the smaller type found in those books has no mystery about it. It is the old-established one used in Day's edition of "Nowell," 1578 (Binnemans, 1581), in Barnes' Oxford Chrysostom of 1586, and later Oxford books of 1593 and 1614, in Bishop's Chrysostom of 1590, and his Homer of 1591, and is, therefore, a very well-known fount.

The copy of Savile's Chrysostom presented to the king shows the rate at which the work progressed. The first two volumes are dated 1610, the title page of the first having a temporary dedication on its back, and no other prefatory matter at all; volumes 3, 5, 6 are dated 1611, and volumes 4, 7, 8, 1612. In the ordinary copies these title pages have been replaced by others uniformly dated 1612, and followed in each volume by a table of

contents; while the first volume has, in addition, an engraved title page dated 1613, a dedication on two leaves, one leaf for the preface, from which I have quoted, and eight leaves of contents. Casaubon, who came to England at the end of 1610, was deeply interested in the progress of the work. In the summer of 1611 he went down to Eton and inspected the press at work, and he mentions, in several of his letters, the solace he found amidst his troubles in reading his favourite author in the new edition. But in January, 1613 (letters 848-9), Casaubon can find no name bad enough for Savile, the reason for this change being that Richard Montague, one of Savile's protégés, had published a criticism of Baronius' Annales which, to some extent, forestalled Casaubon in his more ponderous efforts in the same direction. Just as the Chrysostom was completed, in November, 1512 (Casaubon, letter 846), Savile's printer, John Norton, died; the Eton press continued till 1615, under whose management we do not know; but the occurrence in the Xenophon of that year of a device with the initials "M B" may possibly indicate Melchisedec Bradwood as the printer for Savile at that time. After 1615 nothing more is heard of the press; the Silver Type was bequeathed by Savile to the University of Oxford; some of it was lent to the University Press at Cambridge in 1632 to print a New Testament, but after that all trace of it seems to be lost; the fate of the remainder of what must have been a very large fount, and of its matrices, is quite unknown; nothing connected with it now exists at the Oxford Press. A thousand copies of the Chrysostom were printed at a cost of £8,000, it is said; "sumptibus ingentibus, et regia magnificentia curatur ab homine privato," says Casaubon, in a letter to Fronten Du Duc of 1611, April 29. It sold badly; originally published at £8, and then raised to £9, it dropped to £3, and was even sold off as a remainder at 24*s.* a copy. This can hardly have been at all due to the rivalry of the edition in Greek and Latin published in Paris by Fronten Du Duc, with whom Savile seems always to have been on good terms. The first two volumes of this appeared, it is true, in 1609, that is before any of Savile's (the Museum copy of these volumes, the only part of this edition which it

possesses, is, by the way, that given by Du Duc to Casaubon); but the third and fourth not till 1614, the fifth in 1616, the sixth in 1624, the other six volumes later still. Savile's edition, complete by the end of 1612, must have held the more advantageous position.

All this time the Estienne matrices were still at Geneva; in 1612 the Council reaffirmed the former decision as to their inalienability, and forbade Le Clerc's heirs to part with them. Yet the very next year they sold their claim to the Chouet brothers for three-quarters of the sum still due to them, presumably 150 crowns. The next move came from France. The punches were hidden in the Chambre des Comptes, and had been forgotten. The old matrices were, we may well believe, and confirm our belief by a glance at the Aristotle of 1619, printed *typis regiis*, worn out by constant use, and a movement arose among the learned theologians to buy back the almost unused set of matrices at Geneva. The authorities there were not unwilling, and when the French Government in 1616 made representations to them, they ordered a judicial sale, at which the matrices fetched 5,005 florins, enough to pay all claims and leave Paul Estienne, who was now, since Casaubon's death, the sole legatee, a handsome surplus. At this point the English ambassador stepped in, offered to buy the matrices, and won over Paul Estienne by the promise of a hundred crowns for himself. This can hardly mean anything else than that Savile was still anxious to acquire them, either for his own use or for the Oxford Press.

Evidence as to Savile's continued interest in the Geneva matrices after his purchase of the Silver Type is in fact proved by a letter of Casaubon to him, dated 1611, December 9 (letter 1049), in which we read thus: "I pray God that He may grant you the long life of an eagle, that you may bring to an end your noble undertakings. May Gregory the Divine succeed Chrysostom, and to him others of the most esteemed writers." Of the Estienne matrices the story is long, the tangle a long one, and so it would be best told by word of mouth. That all my efforts have been utterly in vain hitherto I fully see and deplore. However, the French Garde des Sceaux, seemingly at his wits' end to combat this offer, hit upon

the assertion, now advanced for the first time, that the matrices were in fact already the property of the French Government, and that Robert Estienne was a thief when he took them from Paris in 1551. The weight of the charge can be measured by the occasion that produced it. However, it seems to have had the effect of checking the English advances; but Paul still remained firm, and the Genevese were afraid to send the matrices into France lest they should be kidnapped on their way by Paul. There was nothing to be done but to buy Paul off. After long negotiations this was done. Paul returned to Geneva in 1620, and brought back the matrices in triumph to Paris after their exile of just upon seventy years.

At this point begins a new chapter in the history of these types, which I do not propose to enter upon here. I will only add that in 1691, the existence of the punches having become known, the boxes stored in the Chambre des Comptes were ceremoniously opened and their contents deposited in the Imprimerie Royale, where they have ever since remained.

THE EARLIEST DUBLIN PRINTERS AND THE COMPANY OF STATIONERS OF LONDON.

By E. R. McC. DIX.

Read 16th March, 1903.

IT cannot but be a matter of interest to all students of Irish Bibliography to ascertain what connection, if any, the earliest Dublin printers had with the Company of Stationers of London. The publication by Mr. Arber of his well-known and invaluable work, reproducing the Registers of the Company of Stationers, from 1554 to 1640 (the only public source of information on the point), revealed the fact that a few of the Dublin printed books (seven in all) appear in the Register after 1628, such as Usher's *Immanuel* (1638),[1] but only a few, and this seems to indicate that to a certain extent independence of the Company was exercised by the Dublin printers, and possibly that it was only where a portion of an edition of a work was intended for the London market that it was entered in the Register.

(1) The others are: Usher's *Answers to an Irish Challenge* (1629); *Achitophell* (1629); *Irish Articles of Religion* (1629); *The 6th Book of the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1629); *Harris's Grammar* (1630); and *Corbett's Ungirding of the Scottish Armour* (1639). This was the period when the Company (or Society) of Stationers were the Government Printers.

In the second place we learn from Mr. Arber that only two of the four known Dublin printers of that period, viz., Humphrey Powell and William Bladen, were either members of the Company or connected with it in some way, their names appearing either in the Charters or Registers of the Company.

William Kearney, the second known Dublin printer, was not a member of the Company, but a book printed by him in London, 1590, was entered in the Register (Vol. II, p. 555).

The other known Dublin printer of that period, John Frankton, had no connection whatever with the Company of Stationers. His name does not appear even once in any way in the Registers, nor do any of the works printed by him. Frankton was specially appointed in July, 1604, King's Printer in Ireland for life, with a fee of £8 sterling, in addition to which he was paid for printing proclamations, etc. Sir John T. Gilbert (an eminent authority) in his second Bibliographical paper read before the Royal Irish Academy stated that "under patent from the Crown . . . . the King's Printer for Ireland possessed a monopoly of printing, bookbinding and book-selling in Ireland with authority to exact heavy penalties from any persons who infringed his rights." If this was so, we can quite understand how independent Frankton was of the London Company of Stationers and their efforts (ultimately crowned with success) to occupy his position. The Letters Patent confirming the appointment of Frankton as King's Printer are given as dated in October, 1604. Frankton appears to have started about the year 1600, or, perhaps, a little earlier, and to have worked independently until about the year 1618, when, or some short time later, he sold his rights to Felix Kingston, Mathew Lownes, and Bartholomew Downes at a high rate, as is alleged in their Petition made in October, 1628. The last extant imprint bearing Frankton's name is dated 1617. The first bearing that of the Company (or Society) of Stationers is 1620, and there is one imprint apparently in the intervening link, viz., 1619. It is "Typis Deputatorum J. Francktoni &c."

A Grant of the office of Printer General for Ireland was made in May, 1618, to these three printers, all of whom were members of the Company of

Stationers, and recommended by the Company. The Grant to them was made for twenty-one years after the expiration or other avoidance of Frankton's Patent, and was not to be in anywise repugnant to any Grant made to Robert Barker, H.M.'s Printer in England, or to Bonham Norton or any other. The date of Frankton's death is not known, but probably it occurred in 1619 or 1620. It does not appear, however, that Kingston, Lownes, or Downes, themselves came over to Ireland. They may have done so, certainly, but it is not on record. It is more probable, indeed, that they had merely an agent or factor in Dublin from time to time. In Mr. Arber's work, Vol. IV, pp. xlvii and xlviii, it is stated that they paid a factor £100 per annum and £10 for an apprentice and allowance for a journeyman, but the business was not a fruitful one. The last of such factors was almost certainly William Bladen, for we also gather from Mr. Arber's work, Vol. IV, p. 36, that William Bladen, about the year 1641, acquired all the interest of the Company of Stationers in their Irish Stock and Patent, but bound himself to print only "what they list of their priviledge," and we further notice that from 1642 (inclusive) onwards, William Bladen's name appears alone as Printer, and that of the Society of Stationers ceases. Whilst, apparently, a member of the Company of Stationers up to about the year 1638, Bladen seems to have ceased being a member of it, or having connection with it, three or four years before he proceeded to print for himself alone in Dublin (which was in 1642), as his name does not appear in Mr. Arber's work after that year (1638). If we might take the assignment to Brewster of his estate in several works as an indication of Bladen's leaving London, then he came over to Dublin not later than 1627. Further, from the Dublin Municipal Records, edited by Sir J. T. Gilbert, we learn that William Bladen, Stationer, was admitted to the franchise about January, 1631, by special grace and on payment of £10 English. It is probable that he had been a year or two in Dublin before being made a Freeman. William Bladen filled positions of importance in Dublin from time to time. He was elected Sheriff in 1637, was made an Alderman in 1642, and was twice Auditor, viz., in 1648 and

1649. He actively aided the Parliamentarian Party, having previously, however, been the Royal Printer. He died in 1663, and his will was proved in the Prerogative Court at Dublin.

It may here, perhaps, be mentioned, whatever signification (if any) it may have, that, whilst at first the imprint of Dublin books after the year 1620 generally bears the name of the Company of Stationers, this form gradually ceased, and from 1633 up to the time when Bladen began to print in his own name (1642), there always appears the imprint of the Society of Stationers, whereas in London the term was almost always Company of Stationers to a very late period.

It would seem then at most that the control of the Company over Dublin printing was uncertain and irregularly exercised. Their Irish stock was apparently kept separately. As Mr. Arber's transcript of the Registers ceases at 1640, I have no means of tracing the connection further. Independent research in the original Registers after that date might reveal some interesting information. As, however, the "Irish Stock" was sold to Bladen it is probable that all further connection of a direct kind entirely ceased. In Vol. V, at p. xlviii, of Mr. Arber's work, it is noted that in 1661 the Company determined to have no cognizance of Irish affairs.

I should have mentioned, however, that the Company of Stationers at one time claimed the exclusive right to print Bibles and Testaments in Ireland and Scotland, as well as in England, and certainly there is no trace whatever of any attempt, even in Dublin, to print Bibles or Testaments prior to 1699. In fact, the earliest extant Bible printed in Ireland bears date 1714. There are believed, or alleged, to have been earlier editions, but no copy exists or can be traced, as far as is at present known. The King's Printer in Dublin, however, whether a member of the Society of Stationers or not, appears to have had the privilege specially conferred on him of printing Bibles, Testaments, Prayer Books, Statutes, etc., as far as Ireland was concerned, yet apparently all Bibles and Testaments were supplied to Ireland from London. To this extent the claim of the Company of Stationers was, it would seem, upheld in practice. In this

connection it is interesting to note that in 1637 a Petition was presented by Francis Stewart, eldest son of the (then) late Earl of Bothwell, praying to be appointed King's Printer for the next fifty-one years, and charging the then occupants of this office with serious neglect of their duties. (Vide *Calendar of State Papers of Ireland*, 1633–1647, p. 150). It may have been that the Company of Stationers deliberately abstained from printing Bibles and Testaments in Ireland solely in the interest of their London business. This neglect was not so much persisted in as regards Prayer Books or editions of the Statutes, Law Reports, and other legal manuals, books of both of which classes were printed in Dublin occasionally. It is evident, however, that in this, as in other respects, Dublin was never in the same position as regards the Stationers' Company as London, and the gradual severance of all connection with the Company led in time to the complete independence of the Irish printers and the issue constantly by them of what were called "pirated" editions (even as early as 1663), until in modern times, that is after the Union, copyright was enforced by Statute.

In the latter half of the seventeeth century the King's Printer was with one exception (J. Malone, Printer to James II in 1689–90), an importation from London, and this in some measure may have been the result of the active influence of the Company with the Government of the time. During the Cromwellian period no special organisation appears to have included the Dublin stationers or printers, but some years after Charles II had resumed the Throne, viz., in 1672, we find that he granted a Charter to the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist, which included "Stationers'" Cutlers, and Paper Stainers (or Painters). The books of this ancient Guild, or most of them, still exist in the custody of the Master Painters of Ireland, one of whose members, Mr. Charles Keatinge, read a very interesting paper based on these books before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland about three years ago. His research showed, for the first time, that the Dublin Printers, or Stationers as they were then called, were included in this Guild, and active members of it. There is a copy of the old Charter

transcribed into one of the earlier books, and each person of those to whom the Charter was originally granted has his trade recorded. We find here only two Stationers named, but from time to time others joined the Guild, and therefore in these original records can be found the names of printers otherwise unknown, whilst those of the well-known leading printers and publishers also appear frequently. As the records are carried down well on into the eighteenth century there is here a rare and original source of information opened as to the circumstances and conditions attached to printing work in Dublin at that period, which I have dealt with separately in the following part.

PART II.

THE DUBLIN PRINTERS AND THE GUILD OF ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST.

In Mr. Keatinge's paper, before referred to, he laid before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland a great deal of general information in connection with the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist. As a Master Painter himself, I believe, he was more particularly interested in such portions of the records of the Guild as dealt with the Paper Stainers (or Painters), who formed one of the three classes of the Guild, but to-night I will only quote from such portions of Mr. Keatinge's paper as relate solely to the Stationers and Printers. Also, I am indebted to a friend, who examined some of the original books of the Guild, for notes jotted down giving the names of printers, etc. The total number of books of the Guild still forthcoming make up sixteen volumes, and they cover completely the period from October, 1670, down to the year 1841.

Like all similar Guilds its principal function was to keep out intruders from the trades composing the Guild. Its members also elected three

representatives to the then Corporation of Dublin. They had, moreover, their constable, who arrested all persons guilty of breaches of their bye-laws. Mr. Keatinge was of opinion that this Guild had a more ancient existence than the records show, but admitted that their historical existence began with the Charter of Charles II, dated 4th October, 1670.

I have already mentioned that in this Charter only two Stationers are named; but in the year 1719, that is forty-nine years after the Charter was granted, there were fifty-two Stationers members of the Guild, showing a very substantial increase in one class alone of its members. Sometimes, when a member was admitted he had to make a present in the nature of a fine; for example, Andrew Crooke, a well-known printer of the time, presented a silver cup weighing 14 ozs. when he was admitted in the year 1698. I may mention here that one of the reasons stated in the Charter for which it was granted was that there had been no rules or orders laid down in the City of Dublin for the better regulation of the arts and mysteries mentioned, including that of Stationers, and that humble petition had been made for the erection of a corporation to consist of persons skilled in such arts.

The bye-laws for compelling the members of the Guild to execute skilful and honest work did not remain a dead letter, for it appears from the Minute Books that Mr. Patrick Campbell and Mr. Jacob Milner, two of the Stationers, were examined in reference to the title and preface to Cocker's *Arithmetic* having been printed and put to Hodder's *Arithmetic*, "whereby those were deceived who bought them for Cocker's *Arithmetic*," and these two printers acknowledged their error and confessed that a few, not above twenty, were sold, and they promised that what were printed should be destroyed, and that no work should in future be printed with a contrary or wrong preface. Again, in the next year, 1699, "upon information that the New Testament was lately printed by Bryan Wilson and Cornelius Carter for James Malone and Partners with very many errors throughout the impression," the Guild ordered "that the Stationers comprised in this Guild have leave to meet and advise what course or method

is fit to be taken to suppress or detect the same, and that the clerk do draw any petition or address that shall be thought fit or advisable." This latter entry is doubly interesting, first, because it is the earliest distinct statement or evidence that the New Testament was actually printed in Ireland; and in the second place, because the James Malone named would appear, in all probability, to have been the Roman Catholic Stationer who was King James II's printer in Dublin in the year 1689. If so, this version of the New Testament was probably the Douay Version, and may have merely been denounced for political and religious, rather than for trade, reasons. Presumably all copies of this New Testament were destroyed, as no extant copy is known at present.

Another of the bye-laws of the Guild enacted a penalty of ten shillings for speaking evil of or reviling the Master, and a penalty of five shillings for a similar offence against one of the Wardens. In the year 1700, Mathew Gunne, a Printer and Publisher, a member of the Guild, was fined ten shillings for reviling the Master, Mr. Robert Caddell.

An instance is to be found in the records of the efforts of the Guild to prevent any monopoly being granted. Joseph Ray was a well-known printer in Ireland in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and he presented a most interesting Petition to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and to the Archbishop of Armagh, bearing date the 17th of April, 1685. It ran thus:—"That whereas your Petitioner is credibly informed that a Patent is passing the Broad Seal of this Kingdom of Ireland in the names of Andrew Crooke and Samuel Helsham as His Majesty's Printers General and that many clauses and privileges therein are prejudicial to your Petitioner if not relieved by your Grace, that your Petitioner is likewise credibly informed His Majesty's Printers General of England have not such clauses or privileges thereby as are contained in this Patent, viz., for the printing of Psalters, Primers, Almanacs, etc., and many school books, etc. (all which are the sole right and property of the Stationers, of which your Petitioner is a free brother), with restriction to all others for printing or binding them or any other books without their license, but which your

Petitioner humbly contends and is credibly informed to be contrary and repugnant to the Common Laws and Liberty of the subject but more particularly to your Petitioner, and that he is a free printer by his service of seven years apprenticeship thereto." What answer was given to this Petition does not appear.

In 1704 the Guild ordered a picture by Mr. Payne of Mr. Eliphal Dobson, a well-known Dublin bookseller and printer of the period, and that it should "be hanged up in the Hall."

A good deal later, viz., in 1768, there appears in the books reference to a combination amongst some of the workmen, described as Journeymen Printers, who had formed themselves into a body with the intention of injuring some of the Brethren of the Guild and intimidating the printers employed, in particular those in the service of Mr. John Exshaw, a well-known publisher. An account is also given of an assault made upon the door of William Osborne, Journeyman Printer, an old man of 68 years of age, and the oldest tradesman in his trade in Dublin, at that time engaged in the service of Mr. Exshaw, and how grievously with hangers and other weapons the men injured Osborne and his wife; and the Guild offered a reward of £50 for the apprehension of his assailants.

On certain occasions the Dublin Guilds used to go in procession, and the late Sir John T. Gilbert, the well-known and eminent historian of Dublin, mentions that on one of such occasions (of an early date, no doubt) the Company of Stationers appeared in the procession with a printing press, at which printers worked on a broadsheet containing an English poem in double columns on "the Art of Printing." In the British Museum are three broadsides printed on such occasions, in 1755, 1761, and 1764. One of the poems so printed was by Mrs. Constantia Grierson.

In conclusion, I will simply give the names, taken from a few of these volumes, of some at least of the Stationers or Printers belonging to the Guild, some of whose names appear on the imprint of books and pamphlets of the time. It would seem that a few of these Stationers,

however, did not themselves print; for example, John North is referred to several times as a Stationer, but I have never seen any work bearing his imprint. The year after each name is that in which such name *first* occurs with certainty in the volumes of the Guild. Some had, however, been printers or publishers in Dublin many years prior to their admission to the Guild.

John North	1670	William Mendey	1692
Benjamin Tooke	1670	Patrick Campbell	1692
Joseph Howes	1672	Eliphal Dobson	1693
Thomas Sisson	1672	Jacob Milner (or Miller)	1693
Nicholas Barron	1672	John Bently	1694
James Uniacke	1672	Cornelius Carter	1695
Edmund Barry	1672	John Brocas	1696
George Foster	1675	John Brent[1]	1696
Robert Starkey	1675	— Tibbo (Journeyman to John Brent)	1699
William Winter	1676	Joseph Churchill (Journeyman to John Brent)	1699
William Norman	1676	Stephen Powell[2]	1726
Samuel Helsham	1676	James Hoey	1728
Joseph Ray	1676	George Ewing	1728
Joseph Wild (or Wilde)	1676	Joseph Leathly	1728
Thomas Glascock	1681	William Smith	1728
Andrew Crooke	1685		
John Foster	1692		

In August, 1736, Thomas Slater the elder was admitted to the freedom of the Guild as the first great promoter of the art of paper-making. In May, 1758, Mr. Robert Perry was admitted as a member, and he is described as a letter founder.

I have, in this second part of my paper, only in an imperfect and sketchy fashion presented to you the Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist, as far as

(1) He also printed in Cork prior to this date.

(2) N.B.—Powell's printing was first-class work, and such was Ewing's also.

its Printer Members are concerned. A far deeper and more thorough examination of the books ought to be made, and would no doubt yield more interesting and useful information about the Dublin printers and their work.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing paper has been set up in type, I have had an opportunity, through the courtesy of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of examining their valuable collection of Proclamations printed in Ireland. Amongst these appear:

(1.) A printed form of Notice by Felix Kyngston and Thos. Downes, that as assignees of John Franckton's Patent, they had been authorised to call in all Books, Almanacs, Pamphlets printed and sold contrary to such Patent, and nominating an Attorney for the purpose of doing so.

(2.) Three Proclamations, two in 1618 and one in 1619, all printed at Dublin by Felix Kingston, Deputy Printer to the King's Majestie.

This is the first time I have seen such an imprint, and it would seem to involve Kingston's actual presence in Dublin, of which there had been no previous evidence.

(3.) A Proclamation dated 15th July, 1620, which recites more fully the terms of Franckton's pamphlet. This bears the imprint of the *Company of Stationers.*

(4.) A printed form of Notice by Thos. Downes, "of the Citie of Dublin, stationer." This is similar to the joint Notice above mentioned (1), and is made pursuant to the Proclamation previously stated.

This shows that Downes actually resided in Dublin, of which there had been no previous evidence.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE TWELFTH SESSION.

October, 1903, to March, 1904.

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER MEETINGS.

The first meeting of the twelfth session was held on Monday, October 19th, the President, Mr. A. H. Huth, in the Chair. After the minutes of the previous meeting had been approved, the President reported that the Council had passed a resolution expressing its "deep regret at the loss of Mr. Robert Proctor, whose eminence as a historian of early printing made his membership a distinction to the Society, while, both by his own monographs and by general editorial work and advice, he greatly contributed to its success." This resolution had been sent to Mr. Proctor's mother, with a letter of sympathy, on behalf of the Society, and had been gratefully acknowledged.

Mr. H. R. Plomer then read a paper entitled *Some Notes on References to Books in English Wills*. This is printed, with some illustrative documents, in the present volume.

At the November meeting, held on Monday, November 16th, the President in the Chair, Mr. Cyril Davenport read a paper entitled *Bagford's Notes on Bookbindings*. This also is printed, with illustrative documents, in the present volume.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Previous to the December meeting, the following Annual Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the Society's *News-Sheet*.

(1.) During the year 1903 the Bibliographical Society has had to lament the loss of five of its Members:—The Rev. Frederick Antrobus, Superior of the Oratorian Fathers at Brompton, who for several years took the greatest pleasure and pride in managing the beautiful library of that Society, to which he was himself a liberal benefactor; Mr. Frederick Clarke, a collector keenly interested in the history of books and their bindings; Mr. Luzac, who, as a publisher, did more than a little to promote Oriental studies; and two scholars of European reputation, Dr. Friedrich Lippmann, Director of the Kupferstich-Kabinet in the Berlin Museums, and Mr. Robert Proctor, of the British Museum. In 1897 Dr. Lippmann generously transferred to the Council the negatives he had had made of the Schiedam edition of the *Chevalier Délibéré*, and contributed a preface to the Illustrated Monograph in which they were used. Mr. Proctor, besides indexing the *Serapeum* for the Society, wrote monographs on *Jan van Doesborgh* and on *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, and read during the past session a paper on *The French Royal Greek Types and the Eton Chrysostom*, which is now being printed in the *Transactions*, though without the benefit of the revision and enlargement which he had intended to give it. He also habitually revised the proofs of the Society's publications dealing with early printing, and even laid aside, now and again, much more important work in order to make indexes for the *Transactions*, when no other assistance was available. His loss is by far the greatest which the study in this country of the early history of printing has sustained since the death of Henry Bradshaw, and in this section of its work the Bibliographical Society cannot hope to replace a helper at once so learned and so ready to promote its interests.

(2.) The increase in the number of Candidate Members sanctioned at the last Annual Meeting has enabled the Council to elect thirteen new candidates this year, though there have only been seven vacancies. While

making use of the further elasticity now permitted, in order to accept candidates likely to help the Society by their work, the Council propose to hold the new places mainly in reserve, as the old number of fifteen Candidate Members is quite sufficient to fulfil its primary purpose by preventing the Roll of Members from ever falling below 300. The experience of ten years has shown that this number can be easily maintained, and that it has provided a sufficient income for the Society's purposes. During these years, indeed, a small reserve fund has been accumulated in excess of the sum required to meet liabilities to Life Members, and this can be drawn on for any unusually expensive undertaking in the future.

(3.) Mainly owing to the decided preference shown by our working Members for finishing off their books in the autumn rather than in the summer, most of the Society's books for several years have been published in the first months of the year following that to which they belong. Thus, the three publications for 1902, viz., *Transactions* VI, part 2, Mr. Plomer's Abstracts of Wills of English Printers and Stationers, and Mr. Strickland Gibson's very careful and handsomely illustrated monograph on early Oxford Bindings, all of which belonged to 1902, were sent out respectively in February and March of the present year, and the books of 1903, viz., a new part of *Transactions*, a new part of the Hand Lists of English Printers, and Mr. Steele's long delayed monograph on English Music Printing in the 16th century (now all passed for press, with the exception of some illustrations) will be issued not later than the same months in 1904. The delay in publication, though regrettable on other grounds, has the merit of enabling all copies to be sent out at the same time, thus considerably diminishing both the expense and the trouble of distribution. The chief book for 1904, however, Mr. Gray's monograph on the Early Stationers and Bookbinders of Cambridge, has now been for some time in the hands of the Clarendon Press, and considerable progress has been made with the illustrations. It may, therefore, be confidently expected to be ready in the spring, and it is hoped that Members will facilitate its issue by sending in their subscriptions early in the year.

(4.) Among the other publications for 1904 will be a List of about 1,500 English Books printed before 1641, preserved in Archbishop Marsh's Library at Dublin. The List itself has been prepared by the Librarian, the Rev. N. J. D. White, and the expense of printing it will be shared between the Library and the Society. In order to put on record the early English books in the semi-public libraries scattered over the three kingdoms, the Council are prepared, while not devoting any very large portion of the Society's funds to this purpose, to enter into similar arrangements with other libraries from time to time.

(5.) The Memorandum as to Publication of Papers, printed for the first time in 1903 in the annual issue of our Rules and List of Members, was drawn up to take the place of a similar memorandum issued in 1894. It is considered preferable to leave the memorandum as a simple statement of what the Society is prepared itself to do, and what it expects from Members kind enough to help it, rather than to include it in the formal Rules, as in the absence of a specific contract it is very doubtful whether its incorporation there would give it any stronger sanction than the good feeling of Members, on which it avowedly rests in its present form.

(6.) The negotiations with the Grolier Club of New York for the joint publication of special bibliographies of English-speaking authors, initiated in May, 1901, have now been closed. The proposal came in the first instance, not from the Society, but from a distinguished individual member of the Grolier Club, and though the Council regret the failure of any plan which might bring about closer co-operation with fellow-workers on the other side of the Atlantic, they recognise that the difficulties in the way of the scheme had been underestimated.

(7.) The Society's Library continues to be cramped for room, but has grown by kind gifts from several Members. The balance for 1903 of the annual grant of £15 is being mainly spent on binding. Any sum not expended from this grant will in future be transferred to a special account, so that when better arrangements for housing the books have been made, there may be funds in hand for new purchases.

BALANCE SHEET.—1st December, 1902, to 30th November, 1903, inclusive.

	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 1902	336	18	3
£100 4 % New South Wales Bond	100	0	0
Entrance Fees	13	13	0
Life Subscription	12	12	0
Subscriptions for 1901 and 1902	5	5	0
British Subscriptions for 1903	219	9	0
United States Subscriptions for 1903	79	4	7
Foreign Subscriptions for 1903	26	5	0
Subscriptions for 1904 ...	4	4	0
Sale of Publications to Members	21	9	0
,, ,, Harrassowitz	0	18	0
Interest on Investments ...	12	9	7
	£832	7	5

	£	s.	d.
By Purchase of £200 2½ % Consols	184	2	0
Printing	225	2	1
Illustrations	107	0	3
Copying and Researches ...	39	16	0
Vote for Library	7	5	8
Rent	20	0	0
Expenses of Meetings ...	7	5	0
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	5	9	4
Hon. U. S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	2	4	9
Bank Charges and Exchange	0	1	0
Balance	233	0	4
	£832	7	5

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have compared the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and we find it correct.

EDWARD ALMACK.
ALEX. NEALE.

12th December, 1903.

Assets.	£	s.	d.
£300 2½ % Consols @ 89 ...	267	0	0
£100 4 % New South Wales Bond	106	15	0
Stock of Publications ...	300	0	0
Balance of Account for 1903...	233	0	4
Subscriptions in Arrear ...	10	10	0

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
Estimated liability for 27 Life Members	283	10	0
Estimated cost of completing books for the year, and of Miscellaneous Printing ...	240	0	0

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Tenth Annual Meeting was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, December 21st, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Huth, in the Chair.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet, printed in the December *News-Sheet*, were taken as read, and their adoption moved by Mr. Faber, who congratulated the Society on its flourishing condition, and seconded by Mr. Jenkinson. The latter, in alluding to the loss which the Society had sustained by the untimely death of Mr. Proctor, drew the attention of Members to an excellent appreciation of his work in the *Centrallblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, an appreciation only marred by the writer's ignorance of

the lighter and more human sides of Mr. Proctor's character,—his humour, his enjoyment of music, more especially that of Mozart, and his great capacity for friendship.

On the motion of Sir Thomas Brooke, seconded by Dr. Gasquet, the President and other Officers of the Society were re-elected for the ensuing year.

The President, after briefly returning thanks, then moved that the following gentlemen should form the Council: G. F. Barwick, Sir Thomas Brooke, Bart., A. J. Butler, Sir Ernest Clarke, Cyril Davenport, G. K. Fortescue, the Right Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D., W. W. Greg, J. Wickham Legg, M.D., G. H. Palmer, Henry R. Tedder, Charles Welch. This was seconded by Mr. Redgrave, and like the other resolutions carried unanimously.

A letter was read from the Bibliographical Society in Chicago expressing its sympathy with the Society in the loss of Mr. Proctor. The Hon. Secretary was instructed to enter the letter on the minutes and to thank the Bibliographical Society of Chicago for its kindness.

DECEMBER MEETING.

At the end of the Annual Meeting, Mr. Gilbert R. Redgrave, V.P., read a paper on *The Privy Council in its Relations to Literature and Printing.*

SUMMARY.—The earlier manuscript records of the transactions of the Privy Council, which terminate in 1435, were resumed towards the close of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and from the 10th August, 1540, down to the present time, a fairly complete "Register of the Acts of the Privy Council" is preserved. This register is now in course of being transcribed and printed by Mr. John R. Dasent, C.B., and twenty-seven volumes have already appeared under his able editorship. These volumes cover the period until the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. The first two years of the reign of Henry the Eighth had already been printed in the work of Sir Harris Nicholas in 1837. I have extracted from these volumes, beginning from 1540, some of the chief facts relating to the subject-matter

of this paper, in order to render the contents more readily accessible to those interested in Literature and Printing. In the prefaces to each volume will be found valuable information with respect to the form and arrangement of the Register.

Some of the earlier entries relate to omissions to expunge the names of Saints, or of "the Bishoppe of Rome," from Church books and primers. The offenders were made to appear before the Council in person, and after severe warnings were dismissed, or had to make formal recantation in their parish church.

A little later great efforts were made to trace the manner in which copies of a certain "naughty booke made by Philipp Melanchton" had been disseminated. The printing of this book was ultimately traced on January 3rd, 1541–2, to Richard Grafton, and he was sent to the Fleet prison, "there to remayn during the Kinges pleasure." Less than a week later another printer, John Gough, was likewise sent to the Fleet "for prynting and selling of sedycyous bookes."

On April 25th, Anthony Marler, of London, Merchant, was permitted to sell "bibles of the gret volume unbounde for X^{s} sterling, and bounde, being trymmed with bullyons, for XII^{s} sterling." Further, on May 1st, Marler made a humble petition to the Privy Council that all Churches, not already possessing a copy of this bible, should be compelled to acquire one by a given date. This petition was granted and a proclamation was made that such bibles should be procured not later than Hallowmasse.

The first part of the Register was printed, as already stated, by Sir Harris Nicholas, and the work of Mr. Dasent, which was begun in 1890, takes up the publication from the place where Nicholas left off, on April 8th, 1542. In April of the following year a number of London printers were called before the Council and were committed to prison "for printing off suche bookes as wer thowght to be unlawfall." On the 21st April, Beddle (or Byddell), Myddleton, Kele, Lant, and Maylor were bound in recognisances of £100 each to furnish within five days a list of all "bookes and ballettes they have bowght wythin thiese iij yeres past and what they

have sowlde in grosse, and what marchantes they know to have browght in to the Realme any Englisshe bookes of ill matter." This list was furnished on April 26th, as it appears, and no less than 25 booksellers came before the Council on the previous day, and were similarly bound over in the sum of £100 each. Turcke, a bookseller who had caused a "Postilla upon the Gospelles & Pistells" to be printed, was committed to the Fleet.

There are many entries relating to imprisonment for "lewde writings" and for bringing into the country "heretike bookes." In June, 1546, "Oone——White" was sent to Newgate as he "shewed himself of a wrong opinyon concerning the Blessed Sacrament."

On August 13th, 1548, John Mardely, yeoman, was bound over in a recognizance not to print or publish any book that was not previously "subscribed with the hand of William Cicill, Esquier," and an order was at the same time taken that "hensforth no printer sholde prente or putt to vente any Englisshe booke butt suche as sholde first be examined by Mr. Secretary Peter, Mr. Secretary Smith and Mr. Cicill, or the one of them, and allowed by the same."

In the same year payments were directed to be made to Adrianus Junius "for dedycating certain bookes to the Kinges Majestie," and in 1550–51 Polydore Virgil likewise received rewards from the King for his works.

On July 17th, 1550, a warrant was issued "to deliver £20 unto Powell, the printer, given him by the Kinges Majestie towardes his setting up in Ireland."

There are, of course, many entries during the reign of Edward VI relating to the establishment of Grammar Schools; the funds were mainly provided out of monies derived from the sale of church lands.

On October 1st, 1551, Raynard Wolf, printer, was licensed to publish and sell "the booke lately by hym emprinted and set owt by the Archebysshop of Cauntorbury against Doctour Gardiner's booke."

June 10th, 1552, Richard Jugge, printer, was this day licensed to sell the "Newe Testament lately by hym set forth for xxij^{d} the peece in quiers,"

and on September 26th Grafton was enjoined "to stay in any wyse from uttering any of the bookes of the Newe Service." On the 27th October is a record of "a lettre to the Lorde Chauncellour to cause to be joyned unto the Booke of Common Prayer lately set forth a certaine declaracion, signed by the Kinges Majistie and sent unto his Lordship, touching the kneeling at the receyving of the Communion."

There are many references to players and strollers, and on January 28th, 1552–3, William Bawldwyn is commanded "to set forth a play before the Kinges Majestie vppon Candellmas Day."

The completion of the reign of Edward VI was selected as the terminating point of this series of extracts. It is hoped that Mr. Redgrave will continue them, so that they may be issued as a separate volume with an Index of their own.

JANUARY MEETING.

On Monday, January 18th, the President, Mr. A. H. Huth, in the Chair, the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet read a paper on *The Bibliography of some Devotional Books printed by the Earliest English Printers.* Dr. Gasquet's paper is given in full in this volume.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

The February Meeting was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, February 15th, the President, Mr. A. H. Huth, in the Chair. Mr. F. W. Bourdillon read a paper on *The Early Editions of the "Roman de la Rose."*

SUMMARY.—The importance of the *Roman de la Rose* as the most prominent work of mediæval French literature, marking the end of the early period and the beginning of the modern, justifies an attempt to enumerate and classify the various early printed editions in a somewhat elaborate form. No bibliographer hitherto has given a complete and accurate list; and it is only quite recently that the order of the earliest editions has been definitely established. The editions fall naturally into four well-marked groups: (1) The seven Folios, ranging from about 1481 to about 1500;

(2) the seven Quartos, from about 1502 to about 1528; (3) the four editions, two folio, and two small 8vo, of the Recension of the poem by Clement Marot, 1526 to 1538; and (4) the three editions, all folio, of Molinet's prose version, from the end of 1502 (or quite early in 1503) to 1521. After 1538 there was no edition printed for close upon two hundred years, the first modern edition, Lenglet de Fresnoy's, appearing in 1735.

Of the first group, the Folios, not one bears a date; and the three first are also without name of place or printer. Five of the seven, however, are illustrated by the same series of woodcuts, printed from the same blocks; and the condition and varying numbers of these cuts are an invaluable chronological guide. But the edition now recognised as the true First Edition is not one of these five, but an edition of 180 leaves, and of 34 lines to the column, which is only slightly referred to by Brunet, III, col. 1,172, with the words *voici encore une édition fort ancienne.* The type of this edition has led to its being assigned to Jean Croquet, of Geneva, who printed the *Postillæ Guillermi* in a type practically identical. The water-marks in the paper, however, are not found in Genevan books, but in books printed at Lyons; and the type, though not found exactly of this size at Lyons, corresponds in form to two types, one larger and one smaller, used by Gaspard Ortuin. M. Claudin—in whose forthcoming Vol. III of *L'Histoire de L'Imprimerie française* the whole question is discussed fully with further proofs—therefore attributes this edition to Ortuin, or Ortuin and Schenck, at Lyons; and places the date about 1481. Mr. Proctor agreed in this attribution. The woodcuts correspond so closely, both in number and in composition, with the cuts used in the succeeding Folios, that it is evident that one series was directly founded on the other, and it used to be taken for granted that the ruder cuts of the Ortuin were poor imitations of the others. But on closer examination it proves to be the other way about. The Ortuin cuts follow the text carefully in numerous places, where the others pay no regard to minor details of the description; and it is plain that the former were drawn by an artist with the words

always before his eyes, while the latter often show complete ignorance of what the design was supposed to illustrate. The strongest examples of this are the cuts representing the "Force of Nature" and "Deucalion and Pyrrha," in which the Ortuin designs are clearly the earlier. Further, though the wood-cutting is less advanced, the earlier cuts often display a striking superiority in grace and expression. Another proof of the priority of the 34-line edition is found in the displacement of two lines in the heading to the Building of the Tower, which is quite explicable from their position in the 34-line Folio, but has nothing to account for it in the next two Folios, unless they copied it from this.

These next two Folios are attributed, from the type, to Jean Syber and Guillaume Le Roy respectively, both of Lyons. The Syber is shown to be the earlier by the better state of the woodcuts. In everything but the type the two editions are facsimiles of one another. The Syber is, however, far the rarer. A third Lyons edition mentioned by Brunet as appearing to him different from these two is not now discoverable, and Brunet's account may perhaps be founded on a slightly erroneous description of one of the others, or a different impression of one of them. There are two different impressions, varying in two or three words, of the first page of the Syber edition, and a difference of *Rommaut* for *Rommant* in the title-page of some copies of the Le Roy.

The wood-blocks of these editions were brought from Lyons to Paris and there employed in three editions, each fresh edition showing further deterioration in the blocks, and a diminution in their number. The first of these, in which only two of the original blocks are missing, is that of Jean du Pré, a well-edited and scholarly reprint of the Lyons folios, which it copies closely in the number of leaves and of lines to the column. To make up for the missing cuts, an interpolation of 104 lines here appears for the first time. Du Pré's edition was probably earlier than the Vérard folio, as the latter follows it in its arrangement and number of cuts, but has a totally different set of cuts. Some few of Vérard's cuts are suitable, but the main part are old cuts from all sorts of sources, pitched in anyhow,

often with the most ludicrous effect. The type of Vérard's edition also shows a mixture, as if it was being set up hastily by several compositors; and it seems possible that the edition, having been at first intended to have a fine set of cuts newly designed, was then rushed out prematurely, perhaps to compete with Du Pré's. Some few years later Vérard published his well-known quarto edition, with cuts most of which were specially designed, though in many cases the designs are derived from those of the Lyons cuts.

The last two Folios both contain the Lyons cuts from the original blocks. The earlier has been generally attributed to Vérard, but it is rarely found with his imprint, except in the case of vellum copies, richly illuminated. Usually the title-page bears either no mark at all, or that of Jean Petit.

After acknowledging a hearty vote of thanks, Mr. Bourdillon moved the following resolution, of which notice was given in the February *News-Sheet:*

"That with a view to honouring the memory of the late Mr. Robert Proctor, it is desirable that a Committee should be formed to enquire into the possibility of continuing any part of his work, or carrying out other objects which he had at heart, and that the Council be asked to call such a Committee into existence."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Wheatley and carried unanimously.

Copies of several editions of the *Roman de la Rose* belonging to Mr. Bourdillon himself, and others kindly lent by M. Jean Masson, were exhibited at the meeting.

Mr. Bourdillon's paper is being prepared for issue as an Illustrated Monograph.

MARCH MEETING.

On Monday, March 21st, Mr. Faber, Vice-President, in the Chair, Mr. G. F. Barwick read a paper on *Early Guide Books*, printed in full in the present volume.

BOOKS MENTIONED IN WILLS.

By H. R. PLOMER.

Read 19th October, 1903.

SOME few years ago Dr. Furnivall, lighting on an inventory of books mentioning a copy of "Piers Plowman," wrote to *Notes and Queries* suggesting that someone with a taste for compiling should make a list of all the manuscripts and books found mentioned in wills and inventories prior to the year 1600. Dr. Furnivall can little have realised the magnitude of the task he thus lightly proposed. To begin with, the searcher would have to read all the wills, in all the registries, throughout the kingdom, and for most men to read all the wills in any one of the bulky volumes at Somerset House is enough to set head and eyes aching. But the proposed book-hunter's work would not stop there, he would have to go to many other sources and search all kinds of public and private collections of manuscripts, if his task were to be done properly. This would take a steady worker, two lives at least, perhaps three, and is plainly beyond the powers of any single man.

Even supposing such a list were completed, whether by one or many workers, it is practically certain that the result would be very incommensurate with the labour spent in obtaining it, and this not from any shortage of book-entries in the wills, but for other causes which will soon be apparent. Although, as I believe thus impossible to be carried out, Dr. Furnivall's idea was just the thing to fire the imagination of an enthusiastic book-lover, and without doubt the mention of books in wills and inventories has

attracted the attention of many others besides myself. Indeed, the subject of my paper is no new one to those who have had much to do with wills. Collections of abstracts from wills and inventories have been printed by several antiquarian and learned societies. I need only mention the collection of wills in the York Registry from the year 1300 down to the sixteenth century, published by the Surtees Society under the title of *Testamenta Eboracensia*, the collection of "Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories," published by the Chetham Society between 1857 and 1861, and afterwards added to by the Rev. J. P. Earwaker, and the "Selections from the Wills of Eminent Persons proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1495–1695;" edited by John Gough Nichols and John Bruce, and published by the Camden Society in 1863.

Unfortunately, the indexes to these collections are made chiefly in the interest of genealogists, and the result is that all the wonderful collections of books mentioned in them are completely buried, and have to be dug out. A pleasant exception occurs in the Camden Society's publication, but even there the entries are not brought together, as they might very well be, under the subject heading Books, and the whole of the index has to be searched in order to find out what works are mentioned in it.

Numerous inventories have also been printed, especially in the first fifty volumes of *Archæologia*, and these are, in some respects, more valuable than wills, as they give the estimated value of the books as well as their titles.

An immense field of research is thus open to the antiquary, and only a small corner of it has been turned over. While, as I said before, the bibliographical results obtainable from a prolonged search would probably not be worth the labour, these book-entries in wills are yet of singular interest. In this paper I have confined my attention to the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. My examples are taken mainly from notes made by myself at Somerset House and Lambeth, but I have also drawn on the printed collections before mentioned.

The first question that arises in connection with this subject is, what class of wills yields the most book-entries, or, in other words, who were the chief book-collectors of that period? As might be expected, it is the wills of the clergy that are the most prolific in the mention of books. The humblest parish priest possessed at least a breviary of some sort and a missal, which, at his death, he sometimes left to his church; at the other end of the scale, men like John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, or Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, owned noble and priceless libraries.

Next in importance are the wills of the nobility, in which interesting mention of books is sometimes made, though it must be confessed that they make a very bad second, both in point of numbers and the character of the entries, to those of the clergy.

The wills of the gentry, the yeoman, and the tradesman, which may be said to form seventy-five per cent. of the whole number, are, in general, barren of any mention of books. I have myself searched many hundreds of wills of this class, and I can safely say, that one very rarely finds such a will as that of John Goodyere of Monken Hadley, gentleman, quoted by the Rev. F. C. Cass, in answer to Dr. Furnivall's letter in *Notes and Queries*. The great majority of wills of this class are devoid of any mention of books, and where such mention does occur, it is confined perhaps to a single sentence.

Nor is this surprising if we come to think of it. Even in the latter portion of the period covered by this paper and for long after, very few of the trading or yeomen class could read or write, and books were relatively costly, even for some time after the invention of printing. At the same time it does not follow that because no mention of books occurs in a will of this class, the testator did not possess any. Just as now we should find a Bible in almost every household, so no doubt our ancestors possessed a service-book of some kind, of which, however, they made no special mention in their wills, including it in the residue "of their goods." But the almost entire absence of any mention of books from ordinary wills emphasises the arduous nature of the task proposed by Dr. Furnivall.

The next subject of enquiry may very well be, what is the nature of the books found mentioned in wills, and how are they described?

The largest division is naturally that of service books of the Church, Missals, Psalters, Portifories, Breviaries, Graduals, etc., copies of which were often costly and wonderful works of art. While some of these passed into the possession of the church or religious house to which the testator had been attached or in which he was a worshipper, others were left as marks of regard and affection to some friend or relative. One thing at least stands out clearly from a perusal of these book-entries—the immense number that Henry the Eighth's commissioners must have secured in their plunder of the monasteries and chantries. I suppose it would not be an exaggeration to say that there was hardly a parish church in England that could not show several richly bound and illuminated service books received from some pious benefactor.

Next in importance and numbers are the theological books, the works of the Fathers, the writers of the various commentators upon the scriptures, the legends, and lives of the saints. Then follow the large class of works on civil and canon law, so necessary a course of study for the monks of the Middle Ages and the jurists who fought their cases for them at the Court of Rome.

After these we find in various proportions the classical writers, the writers of romances, and works in history and the various branches of science.

When we consider the character of these entries we discover at once how little use can be made of them for bibliographical purposes. For instance "a boke of divers chronicles and histories" might apply equally well to any one of several hundred volumes, while such entries as "unum Romance boke" or "Ye boke with ye knotts" are quite hopeless.

Occasionally these vague titles are supplemented with the information that the book begins on the second or the third folio, with such and such words, or the last few words on the last folio are mentioned. But to work

from such notes as these requires a very precise as well as very wide knowledge of mediæval literature, a knowledge possessed at present by very few, perhaps by hardly anyone except Dr. Montague James. The fact, indeed, that so many of these manuscript references remain unidentified is a fair proof of the destruction wrought amongst the books. Nor did matters improve much after the introduction of printing. There is seldom any indication in the wills as to whether books are printed or manuscript, and even when they are described as being in print, there is rarely any indication of the date of the edition or the place of printing. All these shortcomings strengthen the impression that bibliographically not much light can be obtained from these entries, though here and there they may suffice to put us on the track of books of which no existing copies are known.

But this lack of bibliographical detail is counterbalanced by a great deal of interesting information of various kinds, and hardly a single will mentions books that has not some characteristic note about it. Chief of these is, of course, the personal element, showing itself in the dying man's bequests of the books he valued to the church of his native place, to the college where he was educated, to his fellow clergy, and his faithful friends. There are many interesting notes of the bindings of the books, and the arrangements to be made for their safe preservation. Alas! for the vanity of human wishes. Hardly a church or college in England can show one of these gifts.

Now and again a note of the price given for a book will be found, but not so often as might be expected. Book-lending was evidently largely practised in the Middle Ages, as we frequently meet with bequests of books to some person who already had the use of them, and in one instance at least particular instructions are given to his executors by the testator to return to their rightful owners certain books that he had borrowed.

A few examples will illustrate the points I have indicated.

John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, died in 1369. He came of good family, and studied theology in Paris. His earliest appointment was a

Prebend at York in 1309, from which time he rose rapidly till he was appointed to the see of Exeter in 1327. His wealth enabled him not only to complete the rebuilding of Exeter Cathedral, but to indulge his taste for the acquisition of splendid books. By his will, a very long one, he left to this cathedral church two Antiphonaries, two Graduals, and two Psalters, and a copy of the Gospel of St. John in ancient writing, bound in silver gilt. To the Pope he bequeathed a book of the Sermons of the Blessed Bernard. To Lady Isabella, eldest daughter of the King, his best Psalter. To his successors in the see he bequeathed the Pontificals he had himself compiled, three Missals (one of great value, noted and containing the Sequences), and the Meditations and Prayers of Anselm and Augustine in one volume; also a Gospel-book with covers of silver, having images in relief of the Crucified, of Mary and of John on one side, and on the other the Coronation of the Virgin in niello work. None of his ecclesiastical or theological books were to be sold, unless his other goods were insufficient to fulfil his bequests, but those belonging to his chapel not specially bequeathed were to be distributed amongst certain collegiate churches. His theological books of moderate value he directed should be distributed amongst poor scholars reading theology, and Stapeldon Hall in Oxford, with the proviso that the writings of Nicholas de Lyra and Nicholas de Tryveth on the Psalter, together with other books of a better class, the complete works of the authors not then included in the Library of the Church of Exeter, should be deposited there amongst the archives, while the Friar Preachers of Exeter were to have all the writings of Saint Thomas of Aquino, who was a brother of their order. To a relative, Philip de Beauchamp, he left a Bible which had been given him by Master Robert Herward, and to William de Courtenay, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, any book on theology or canon law that his executors chose to select.

Two of the books mentioned in this will are now in the British Museum, the Psalter left to Lady Isabella, and the Letters of St. Anselm, the book chosen by his executors for William de Courtenay and afterwards given by Courtenay to his College of Maidstone.

Incidentally we can trace two other books of Grandisson's. John de Harewell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died in 1386, and by his will, which is registered at Lambeth (218 Courtenay), left to Robert Slo, his clerk, the missal with notation, which had been left to him by John Grandisson, and again in the will of Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham (1406), mention is made of a "missale notatum, miniatum de auro, quod fuit quondam Johannis de Grandisson," to be handed to Robert, Bishop of London.

Rich as was the library of the Bishop of Exeter, it was probably rivalled by that of the Bishop of Durham. This prelate was an Oxford man, who, after graduating, became Prebendary of Fenton, in York Cathedral, and Archdeacon of the East Riding, being appointed to the see of Durham in 1387. Walter Skirlaw described his books with care. Not only did he give the titles, but details were added concerning the binding and the illumination of the books, while the opening and concluding words of each volume were added as means of identification. It is by such means that we are now able to identify the remains of these magnificent mediæval libraries. For example, he left to his domestic chaplain, Robert Blundell, a missal thus described :—

"A small missal for the oratory, bound with a panel of silk, lined with red leather, illuminated with blue and vermilion intermixed, and beginning on the third folio in the Kalendar 'tercius occidit' and in the first column of the last folio with the words 'in missis cotidianum.'"

Another of his books was bound in "red velvet embroidered with chains and roses, and having clasps of silver," while others again were bound in white or red skin. To the Great Hall (Collegio Majoris Aulae) of Oxford University he bequeathed his copy of the works of Nicholas de Lyra in three volumes; to the Bishop of London the missal already referred to; to William Pisthorne, the Vicar of St. Andrews near East Cheap, a breviary bound in white leather. At his death the Vicar of St. Andrew's bequeathed two Portifories or Breviaries, but neither of them can be identified as that left him by Bishop Skirlaw, since, whereas the

Bishop described his by the opening word in the first column of the first leaf, the Vicar took the words from the second leaf, the more usual custom.

Another large collection of books, indeed the largest I have met with, is that described in the will of John Newton, Treasurer of York Cathedral, who died in 1414. Nothing seems to be known of him, yet his position was one of some prominence, and the extent of his library, the rare and costly character of his books, and their sumptuous bindings, prove him to have been a scholar as well as a man of ample means.

Amongst the writers whose works were on the shelves of John Newton's library, was Alcuin, who is described as being formerly one of the Canons of York Cathedral. Unfortunately the titles of his writings are omitted. It also contained the writings of John Hoveden, celebrated for his Latin Poems, of Richard Rolle of Hampole, otherwise known as Richard the Hermit, and author of "The Pricke of Conscience," "The Remedy against the troubles of Temptation," and many other works; of Walter Hilton, whose "Scala Perfectionis" was afterwards printed by both Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. Here also were Bede's "De Gestis Anglorum," and William of Malmesbury's "De Pontificibus." To St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Newton left an imperfect copy of Chrysostom's Sentences, the epistles of St. Bernard, the writings of Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Macrobius, and Cassiodorus. Some of these books he describes as being in a chest in the vestibule of York Cathedral, of which the sub-treasurer had one key and the custodian the other.

Another illustration of mediæval customs as regards books may be found in the will of one of the clergy of the Cathedral of Bath and Wells, William Byconnell, who died in 1448. He left several books to All Souls' College, Oxford; the most remarkable part of his will is a clause in which he desires his executors, in the name of Jesus Christ, and for the exoneration of his soul, to make restitution of certain books he had borrowed. To the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary of Abingdon were to be returned the two volumes of Johannes' "in Novella" which they had lent

him; to the library of All Souls' College the commentary of Henry Bowhik upon the Decretals of Gregory IX, a work that is mentioned more than once in these wills, the well-known Bartholomaeus "de proprietatibus rerum," one of the works of Jacobus de Voragine (known as Januensis), and the commentary of Francis de Zaberell upon the Decretals of Clement, written on paper. All Souls' still possesses a copy of the last-mentioned work written by the hand of John Elveden, but whether this is the book referred to in this will it is not possible to say. Further, Byconnell desired that the large noted Portiforium in two volumes and a beautiful Bible might be returned to the executors of the Bishop of Bangor.

One of the rare instances of the mention of books in the wills of the gentry is in that of Mercy, wife of Arthur Ormesby, of Ormesby, co. Lincoln, who died in 1451, and left to a relative a primer which had belonged to her father, bound with a panel of red and green silk. To the prioress of Esbourne she bequeathed another primer bound with a red panel intermixed with gold, and an English book called the "Chastes ng of Goddes Children" (a book afterwards printed by Caxton, or rather by Wynkyn de Worde in his name), and to her Chantry at Stoke, a large Missal with clasps of "laton," *i.e.*, brass. This lady's husband set out for the Holy Land at the end of the year 1467, and he, too, made a will which contains notice of the "Gesta Romanorum moralised" and a "bestiare in picture."

Another will of this class is that of Thomas Burgess, citizen and "cissor," *i.e.*, merchant tailor, of London, who died in 1468. To his daughter Johanna he bequeathed his primer, "covered with blue velvet and with a clasp of silver gilt ornamented with a cross and three barley sheaves," while to his son he bequeathed his small primer "covered in blood coloured velvet with a clasp of silver gilt ornamented with a leaf."

The will of Sir Edmund Rede, High Sheriff of Bucks, who died in 1487, is in many respects an interesting document. To his wife Catherine he left a book called "Gower," bound in red leather, and another book with the same title with a tract called "the three kings of Cologne,"

evidently in the same volume, bound in white leather. As there is no indication that these were printed books, we must suppose that they were one or another of the numerous manuscript copies of the "Confessio Amantis," although Caxton's edition had appeared in 1483. Further on the Sheriff mentions a psalter, with two clasps of silver gilt "pounced," *i.e.*, I suppose, engraved, with the head of a unicorn, while to William Gaynesford he left two books of "Cronicles" bound and written on paper, the one called "John Harding," and the other "Rakyll de Troye." He also seems to have had a considerable number of law books.

Still more interesting is the will of John Moeer, vicar of the parish church of Tenterden, in Kent, who died in the year 1489. Despite the unusual spelling, there can be little doubt that the name is a variation of Moore or More. John Moeer is not to be found in the list of vicars of Tenterden church given by Hasted, nor did that antiquary, nor his great successor Streatfeild, know anything about him. John Moeer left a Gradual to the use of the parish church, and also directed that his copy of the "Pupilla Oculi," as well as the Gloss upon the Evangelists, should be chained in the eastern part of the choir. To Eton College he left a copy of the Epistles of Augustine and several other books. To Christ Church, Canterbury, he left the "Introits" of Dionysius, a concordance of the Bible, and other books, while the sister monastery of St. Augustine was to have a work by Nicholas de Lyra. To Magdalene College, Oxford, he left his copy of the writings of Alexander Neckham. To Canterbury Hall, in the same university, a copy of Petrus Lombardus, the Master of Sentences. To the College of Wye, in Kent, the commentary of Thomas Dockying upon Deuteronomy and the Apocalypse. To the College at Ashford, in Kent, glosses upon the book of Genesis, the writings of Jeremiah, the proverbs of Solomon, and the books of Isaiah and Daniel, a copy of St. Augustine upon John, and of Isidore. To Sir John Gilford, knight, no doubt a member of the Guildford family, who lived close by, he left a book of divers chronicles and histories. Lastly, to the rectors of all the neighbouring churches he bequeathed a book of some sort, and as showing the extent of

the reading of this country priest, we notice among them the writings of the venerable Bede, Tully's "Offices," the "Æneid" of Virgil, and an Æsop. But what is still more interesting, we find among the legatees of John Moeer, the famous Greek scholar Thomas "Lynaker," who is described as studying at Florence. The bequest to him included a sum of £10, which was left in the hands of the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the following books:—A printed edition of Petrus Lombardus; Thucydides' "History of the Peloponysian War," printed; Cicero's "Nova Rhetorica," written on parchment, and two Greek books, one printed, and the other written on parchment.

I think this will is worth a little further consideration. Who was this John Moeer or More? Linacre was, as we know, in after life, a close friend of Sir Thomas More, whose father was Sir John More, a judge, said to have been the son of John More, bencher of Lincoln's Inn.

Is it possible to connect the vicar of Tenterden with the family of Sir Thomas More? There was a family of this name settled at Bidenden in Kent, and I believe that the vicar of Tenterden was a member of it; and he may have been at some time a teacher in the Cathedral School at Canterbury at which Linacre was a pupil. At any rate, this will seems to confirm what has hitherto been only surmise, that Thomas Linacre was a Kentish man.

Before passing away from the fifteenth century there is one more will that deserves notice. It is that of Cecily, widow of Richard, Duke of York, proved in 1495, and I do not think I can do better than give you the notes about books in the words of the will.

I geve and bequath to the Quene . . . a sawter with claspes of silver and guilte enamelled covered with grene clothe also I bequeith to my lady the Kinges moder a portuos with claspes of gold covered with blacke cloth of gold . . . And if my body be buried at Fodringhay in the college there . . . then I give to the said colege . . . three masse bokes, thre grayles, and vii processioners. Also I give to the colege of Stoke Clare . . . iii/

antiphonars, iii/ grayles, and sixe processioners ... also I geve to my doughter Brigitt, the boke of Legenda Aurea in velem, a boke of the life of Saint Kateryn of Sene, a boke of Saint Matilde. Also I geve to my doughter Cecill a portuous with clasps silver and gilt covered with purple velvet and a grete portuous without note ... Also I geve to my doughter Anne priores of Sion, a boke of Bonaventura, and Hilton in the same in Englishe, and a boke of the Revelacions of Saint Burgitte, also I geve to the colege of Saint Antonies in London an antiphonar with the ruelles of musik in the later ynd ... also I geve to Sir John More ... a legend boke, and a colett boke ... also I geve to Sir William Grave ... a masse boke that servith for the closett, a prymour with claspes silver and gilt covered with blewe velvett, and a sawter that servith for the closett covered with white ledder. Also I give to Sir John Blotte a gospell boke a pistill covered with ledder.

Camden Society—Wills from Doctors Commons. p. 1, etc.

At the threshold of the sixteenth century are two wills each with an individuality of its own. The first is that of John Betts, an early vicar of Hackney, who died in 1501, in which occurs the following passage:—

"I bequeathe to All Sowlen College in Oxforde my book called 'Pantholegia' conteyned in ( ) volumes. And I will that it be bounden in a cheyne in the librarie of the same college; and that ther may be written upon every volume of the same; these wordis ensuyng, that is to say; This is the gifte of John Betts, clerk, somtyme felowe of this college. And I bequeathe to the same college my books called 'Almasorium' conteyned in x partes, my booke called 'liber Antidotarii,' and my booke called 'Anetomia,' to be bounde with cheynes in the said librarie and to be subscribed with the words afore expressed.

"Also I bequeathe to the College within the Castle of Wallingford, my booke called 'Racionale Divinorum' in like condicion to be bounden in the libraire of the same college and to be subscribed with these wordis: This is the gifte of John Betts, clerke, sometyme subdene of this college."

I regret to say that the gift of John Betts to All Souls' College cannot be traced. In answer to my enquiries the librarian informs me that he finds John Betts became a member of the college in 1468, but he cannot find the books.

The second will is that of John Goodyere, of Monken Hadley, gentleman, already referred to. It was made in the year 1504, and certainly, as far as my researches have gone, it is a very rare instance of the will of a private gentleman yielding information about books, and in this case about books of great interest. First of all he mentions his "best prymmer covered with crymysin velvet and clasped with silver and gilt," and later refers to "a boke of regimine principum" in parchement, "a boke of dives et pauper in printe," a boke of "the Knyght of the Tower in printe," the "Canterbury Tales" in parchment, "an old boke of the cronycles of yngeland," "an olde boke of bonaventur," and a "queyr of phisick of the secrets of women."

Of these the most interesting are "the Knight of the Tower," in all probability from Caxton's press in 1484, and the "Dives and Pauper," editions of which were printed by Pynson in 1493, and De Worde in 1496.

Of quite another character are the notices of books in the will of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, who died in 1537.

"Item. I give and bequathe to the Lady Surrey a booke of golde having dyvers leffys of golde with the salutacion of Our Lady att the begynnyng... To the Lady Anne Veer... a boke of golde of the valewe of C.s. with the picture of the crucifix, and the salutation of our ladye to be newly made... Item. I give and bequeath to my suster Dame Mary ... my booke of golde sett with perle."

Probably what was here described as a "book of gold" was a small girdle book in a gold binding.

To this period we also owe one of the few examples of the mention of books in the will of a merchant of the City of London. Thomas Crull

was a citizen and grocer who made his will in July, 1540, and in it are the following bequests:—

"I bequeath and give my godsonne John Tichiburne, the son of Nicholas Tichiburne of London, grocer marchaunt, of the Staple at Calais, my matyns boke writt in vellum and lymned with gold and pictures, accustomed to lye upon my counter bord . . . To my son Nicholas Tichiburne my great boke called 'Polycronyca' writt in vellum and lyned in bordes . . . To my cousin Thomas Chamberlayn, the son of William Chamberlen, of London, draper, my two frenche bokes of the life of King Arthure imprinted in paper and covered in bordes and redd lether."

Thomas Crull also left to one of his executors "a primer writt in vellum and lymed with gold and bordyd with a clasp of Latyn."

As I began these illustrations with the will of a bishop, so I will close them with that of another, namely, that of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1547. It is rich in the mention of books. To Eton College, in which his body was buried, he left copies of the works of Chrysostom, Hilary, Origen, Bernard, Athanasius, and Augustine, and gave strict injunctions that they should be "enchayned in their lybrarye." To Magdalene College, Oxford, he left "Thre large greate bokes bounden in white lether, fayre written, called Septem Custodie, directinge where to find thexposicion of Scripture necessarye for preachers and others that laboureth scripture," as well as many other books, including Bede de "Cantica," Bromyard's "Distinciones," and "Bredwardine contra Pelagium." To Lincoln College, Oxford, the writings of Ambrosius, the sermons of Leonardo de Vtino, and other books that were in his study at Holborn; to Oriel the gloss of Petrus Lombardus upon the Psalter, and William of Nottingham's Commentary upon the Gospels, and the Acts of the Council of Basle. To Durham College he also left several books.

Either these bequests were never carried out, or the colleges named have been robbed of their treasures. Mr. Maxwell Lyte, in his history of Eton College, does not say whether Bishop Longland's books are still there,

but referring to the library a little later, he says (p. 138): "Whereas the expenditure on iron bars, chains, and materials for binding between the years 1519 and 1521 shows that there was then a considerable collection of books at Eton, the number of volumes written or printed before that date, which now remain there, is comparatively small. A single anthem book, of the beginning of the sixteenth century, has somehow been preserved, but the literary gifts of early benefactors have for the most part disappeared."

Nor is there any trace of Bishop Longland's bequests to the colleges of Oxford to be found in Coxe's Catalogue. If they were ever handed over they have apparently met a like fate to those which he bequeathed to Eton. At any rate, in this will remains the only record of the books that the bishop owned.

These are but a few of the illustrations of the varied character of the information yielded by wills on the subject of books. They are chosen from a large number of abstracts in my possession, which form, however, but a fractional part of what might be collected by a systematic search.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO BOOKS FROM SOME UNPRINTED WILLS.[1]

JOHN DE UPTON, Canon of Wells, 1396. [153 Arundell, I (Lamb)].

Lego magistro Waltero London., filio dicte Willielmi london., cognato meo, si supervixerit post mortem meam, vnum corpus iuris civilis, videlicet parvum volumen digestum, vetus digestum, novum codicem, & inforciatum, quos sibi accomodaui pro eruditione sua Oxonie, & illos in sua custodia habet. Lego eidem Breviarium meum albo corio coopertum. Lego eidem omnes quaternos meos papir. ac eciam constitucones meas & statuta mea regia albo corio cooperta, ac Speculum Judiciale antiquum albo corio coopertum, Innocencium rubio corio coopertum.

Lego domino Johanni Manns presbitero ad orandum pro anima mea librum meum vocatum pupilla oculi & ordinale meum, quod habet in custodia sua, & crussibolum meum rubeo corio coopertum, etc.

WILLIAM PISTHORNE, Rector of the church of St. Andrew Huberd near Eastcheap, London, will made on the 24th September, 1413. [P.C.C. 28 Marche.]

Item lego domino Roberto Blundell rectori ecclesie parochialis Rysburgh Monachorum iuxta Tame in Com. Bukyngham parvam bibliam meam que incipit ij^do^ folio *cipum sed loquitur*. Item lego domino Thome Oswalde-kyrk, rectori ecclesie parochialis Sct. Georgii iuxta Estchepe, London, vnum librum de historia sancti Thome Cantuarensis cum aliis notabilibus in eodem, que incipit ij^do^ folio *potius gre*. Item Thome lincoln, piscarius [?] de parochia sancti Andree predicta vnum librum qui vocatur Bonaventura de vita & passione domini, et incipit ij folio in rubr *pro nob*. Et eidem Thome alios quaternos de meditacionibus quos habet in custodia sua . . . Item lego Willielmo Sutton clerico meo . . . portiforium meum parvum scriptum de littera currente, quod incipit ij folio *nomina eorum*, et vnum portiforium notatum quod incipit ij^do^ folio *te lucis*.

(1) The following are some of the Wills in which Books are mentioned, which have already been printed:

1369. John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter. Hingeston-Randolph. Register of Bp. Grandisson. pp. 1558–1560.
1378. Thomas Farnylawe, Chancellor of York. Surtees Soc. Test. Ebor I, 102, 3.
1391. John Percehay de Swynton. Surtees Soc. Test. Ebor I, 164.
1404. William of Wykeham. Lowth's Life of William de Wykeham (1758), p. 384.
1404. Sir John le Scrop, Knight. I, 339.
1406. Walter [Skirlaw] Bishop of Durham. Surtees Soc. Test. Ebor I, 306–325.
1414. John Newton, Treasurer of York Cathedral. Surtees Soc. Test. Ebor I.
1420. Dame Matilda Bowes. Surtees: Wills and Inventories, I, 65.
1504. John Goodyere, Monken Hadley. *Notes and Queries* (7, IX, 125.

WALTER MEDEFORD, Dean of Wells. 1421. [359 Chichele, I (Lamb)].

Item lego eidem Elizabeth (*i.e.* Elizabeth Talbot.) librum meum oracionum quem alias ante recessum meum ab Anglia dedi eidem, qui habet clapses de argento deaurato, quorum vnus est vnus angelus . . . Item lego Willielmo Pyry, clerico meo, totum corpus iuris civilis. Et volo quod idem Willielmus eligat libros meliores de libris meis de civilibus. . . . Item lego magistro Rogero Harewell archdiacono Bathon. librum meum decretorum, magnam villeam meam & librum meum decretalium, quos idem magister Rogerus habet in custodia sua. Item lego Magistro Reginalde Kentwode archdiacono London. librum meum Januensem in suo Catholicon. . . . Item lego eidem (Johanni Godyn) parvam bibliam meam, que est apud Bedewynd. . . . Item lego altari cantarie domini Ricardi Medeford, nuper Sar. Episcopi, in ecclesia Sar. fundato, magnum missale meum quod Johannes Shotesbroke habet, & quod michi idem Ricardus Episcopus legavit in testamento suo. . . . Item lego Reverendissimo in Christo patri & domino, domino Henrico Wintonien. Episcopo, librum meum de Lyra, supplicando humiliter paternitati sue, quatinus exhibere dignetur bonam discretionem suam ac dominacionem executoribus meis in execuciones testamenti mei faciendo.

ELIZABETH LADY FITZHUGH. 1427. [Durham. Reg. Langley, fol. 135].

Also I wyl that my son . . . Robert [have] a sauter covered with red velwet, and my doghter Mariory a primer couered in Rede, and my doghter Darcy a sauter couered in blew, and my daughter Malde Eure a primer couered in bleu . . . And yong Elyzabeth ffitzhugh my goddoghter a book couered in grene with praiers therinne.

THOMAS POLTON, Bishop of Worcester, 1432. [Lambeth. 438, Chichele].

Item lego portiforium meum antiquum solempne notatum & singulariter liminatum, similiter et vnum gradale ac vnum par vestimentorum ac xvj marcas argenti ecclesie Sancti Petri de Marleburgh.

Similiter lego vnum librum qui vocatur Summam Summarum, precium vj. marcarum, ad vsum predictum, cum cathena ferrea in choro ecclesie ipsius prioratus, aut in alio loco magis ad hoc apto perpetuo ligandum et inibi sub pena anathematis perpetuo remansurum, & scribatur in primo folio libri nomen conferentis & causa. Insuper & ad premissa debite facienda & vt canonici in ipsorum missis specialiter orent pro anima mea & ceteris prespecificatis, et vt cum celeritate qua commode possint celebrent inter se xxx missas pro anima mea et animabus supradictis.

Item lego domino Ricardo Synete nuper vicario ecclesie Beate Marie Marleburgh . . . librum qui vocatur pupilla oculi. . . . Item lego eis [priori &c. de Bristelom] decreta mea maiora . . . Item lego domino Radulpho Bolt capellano meo, portiforium & missale portativa pro tempore vite sue.

WILLIAM BYCONYLL. 1448. [167 Stafford, Lamb].

Item lego ad vsum capellani mei vel capellanorum meorum celebraturorum in Ecclesia Cath. Wellen, missale meum novum quod incipit in secundo folio *lutar tun.* . . . Item lego domino Johanni Byrkhed[1] duo volumina mea de vita Christi et fidei sue committo quod post decessum suum eadem volumina restituet collegio Animarum omnium fidelium

(1) P.C.C. 24 Godyn. John Byrkhead, d. 1467, then rector of Harrow, does not mention the above book.

defunctorum in Oxonia. Item lego magistro Theodoro Caas portiforium meum vsuale ad terminum vite sue, et post decessum suum volo quod deliberet alicui honesto presbytero in ecclesia cathedrali Wellen. vt ipse vtatur et restituat vlterius forma supradicta. . . . Item lego collegio Animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum in Oxon. Nicholam de Lira, in quatuor voluminibus cum prohemio. Item lego eidem collegio decreta mea, librum meum decretalium parvum, dumtamen consensus Johannis Ellmeregge seu omnio [?] interveniat. Item lego eidem collegio librum meum Sextum cum duobus doctoribus & librum Clementis cum doctoribus in aliqualem recompensam beneficiorum per felicis memorie dominum Henricum nuper Cantuariensis Archiepiscopum dicti collegii fundatorem michi collatorum. Item volo & ordino quod executores mei infrascripti in vistibus Jhesu Christi pro exoneracione anime mee quod fiant restituciones librorum . . . in quadam cedula . . . annexa. . . . Item volo quod restituatur Abbati & conventui monachorum. Sancte Marie de Abyndon, Johannes in Novella in ij voluminibus que michi ad vsum meum accomodarunt. Item volo quod restituantur collegio Animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum in Oxon. Henricum Bowhik in uno volumine, Januensis in uno volumine, ffrancescus de Saberell super Clementorum in papiro, Petrus de Crescentiis, unus liber habens plura contenta, qui incipit 2° folio . . . Item Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum. Item volo quod restituantur executoribus domini Willielmi nuper Menevensis Episcopi portiforium magnum notatum in duobus voluminibus. Item una biblia pulcra, que incipit 2° folio *in misterio*. Item quod restituantur eisdem Arthurus in Rosario que incipit 2° folio . & Johannes de Novella super Sextum, que incipit 2° folio.

MERCY, wife of ARTHUR ORMESBY, armiger. 1451. [299 Kempe. Lambeth].

Item lego dicte Merie Tregose vnum primarium nuper predicti Stephani patris mei copertum cum panno de serico rubio et viridi coloris. Item lego priorisse de Esbourne vnum primarium copertum cum panno blodio intermixtum auro et vnum librum Anglie vocatum, the Chastesing of goddes children, in perpetuum permansurum predicte domum de Esbourne. . . . Item lego Cantarie mee in Stoke . . . in perpetuam rei memoriam missale major cum clapsis de laton.

ARTHUR ORMESBY. Will made in 1467, before starting to visit the Holy Land. Proved 15th November, 1468. [25 Godyn].

To George, Archbishop of York, "my boke called boneaventure de vita xpi and in the same boke a wark called speculum xpianorum and in the end of the same an holy trete in English of contemplacon . . . And I bequeath to the said priour [? of North Ormesby] ij boks on of them called Josaphus in Antiquitatibus, and that other boke of the maister Stories. Also I bequeath to my said lord tharchbishop a bok de fide in the keping of Maister Roger Necton. Also I bequeath to ye said Maister John Capton a boke de gestis Romanorum moralised. And also a bestiarie in picture in his owen keping."

JOHN BRETON, Canon of Lincoln. 1463. [9 Godyn].

Item lego ecclesie de Buckyngham vnum antiphonarium optimum. Item ecclesie de Kyngsutton vna legenda ad valorem octo marcarum. Item ecclesie de Therfeld . . . vna legenda &c. palem . . . Item collegio de Fodringay xj processionaria.

JOHN WODECROFE, Vicar of Bansted, co. Surrey. 1465. [10 Godyn].

Item lego ecclesie predicta [*i.e.* omnium sanctorum de Bansted] . . . meum ordinale . . . Item lego ecclesie de Horndon in Com. Essex meum manuale. Item lego ecclesie de Asshstede meum portiforium. I wyll that my masse boke be delyvered to the church of thc parissh of Strete in the shire of Somersette to pray for my soule and for my fader and for my moder soul and for all cristen soulys.

THOMAS BURGEYS, citizen and cissor of London. 1468. [24 Godyn].

Item lego predicto Johanne filie meo meum primarium coopertum cum blodio velvett, et cum vno claspe de argento & deaurato & cum vno crosse & tribus barly shefes in eodem claspe factis & sculptis. Item lego predict hugoni filio meum parvum primarium coopertum cum blodio velvett & cum vno claspe de argento & deaurato & cum vno folio super eodem claspe facto & sculpto.

WILLIAM BATHCOM, Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge. Proved 12th October, 1487. [P.C.C. 10 Milles].

Item lego magistro Crow Speculum Jurator[is]. Item lego magistro Edwardo Shuldham. Decretales manuales quas secum habet. Item lego eidem mea antiqua Decreta fructuosis laboribus ornata. Item lego eidem Repertorium li. vj. et Clementinarum itaque nunquam vendat sed post usum suum conferat alicui viro in iure bene expedito cum omnibus suffragiis secundum quod scribitur in fine eiusdem libri. Item lego eidem magistro Shouldam vnum librum impressum continentem Sermones Quadragesimales de legibus secundum Leonardum, ut liquet ante prohemium, et est opus egregium. Item lego eidem aliud opus egregium impressum super opus quadragesimale cujus secundum folium appetitus. Et si aliquem librum sive tractatum sibi invenerit utilem, volo quod pre ceteris hominibus habeat, et sub leviori precio.

CHRISTOPHER HANNINGTON. 1486. [25 Milles].

Item Snede of the commyn place shulde write me the Statutis, whereof he hath writt a great parte butt nott all, as it apperith by such as is writt in my study, whiche my cousen William knowith well, for the writing whereof he should have had six marcs. Whereof I have paid hym v marcs, vj^{s}. viij^{d}. and so when he hath completed it he most have vj^{s}. viij^{d}. more, and if he do it and well performe it, I would ye paid hym xiii^{s}. iiii^{d}.

EDMUND REDE, knight of Borstal, co. Bucks. Dated 7th April, 1487. Proved 30th June, 1487. [24 Milles]. The testator is buried in Borstal Church.

Item lego presbitero qui michi ministrandet sacramenta & sacramentalia immediate ante mortem meam . . . vnum parvum librum de Dirige notatum coopertum cum pelle albo . . . Item lego eidem Katerine [vxori mee] vnum librum vocatum Gower coopertum cum rubeo coreo . . . Item volo quod vnum portiforium notatum in custodia mea existens, et quondam pertinens ville de Standelfe, remaneat predicte ville quandocumque contigat eis illum indigere . . . Item librum Cronicorum Anglie librum vocatum, Officium militarum cum armis in eodem depictis, vnum librum de Gower cum tractatu trium Regum de Coleyn coopertum cum coreo albo, vnum librum vocatum Albertanus causidicus cum aliis tractatibus. Item duo psalteria mea, vnum cum duobus clapsis de

argento et deaurato pounced cum capitibus vnicorum, vnum parvum librum matutinalem cum aliis oracionibus in eodem, clapsid cum argento. Et psalterium meum valde minimum clapsid cum argento & deauratum, vnum librum de vita Alexandrie cum omnibus libris meis de lege Anglie, exceptis librom de Assisis postea Ricardo Halle legat. et Cartuariis Territoriis, libros forestarum, libros swannemotorum, vnum parvum librum de veteribus Statutis Anglie, et parvum Registrum, clapsed cum argento, simul cum omnibus evidenciis meis pertinens ad hereditatem predicti heredis mei, existentibus in closeto meo desuper le Tresaunce iuxta Aulam manerio predicto . . . Item lego Thome Rede clerico, filio meo . . . vnum librum Matutinale cum aliis oracionibus in eodem contentis, vnam Bibliotecam, vnum librum vocatum Medulla Gramatice, vnum librum vocatum Bonaventura, vnum librum de Disputacione inter corpus et animam, cum aliis tractatibus. Item lego Alano Rede filio meo vnum librum de Obsessione Troje, et alium librum Septem Psalmorum cum magna latenia, Dirige, et comendacionibus . . . Item lego Willielmo Gaynesford . . . duos libros de Cronicis Anglie ligatos et in papiro scriptos, videlicet vnum vocatum John Harding et aliud Rakyll de Troye. Item lego Ricardo Hall vnum librum vocatum liber Platonis depictis in eodem bestiis auibus et herbis ac vnum librum de Assisis de lege Anglie.

JOHN MOEER, Vicar of the Parish Church of Tentwarden [*i.e.*, Tenterden], co. Kent, dated 1489. Proved 16th November. [P.C.C. 20 Milles]. Testator buried in the chancel of St. Mildred's, Tentwarden.

Item lego eidem ecclesie vnum Gradale novum ad deserviendum deo in choro ecclesie ex parte australi eiusdem. Item lego eidem ecclesie librum dictum Pupilla Oculi Sacerdotis cathenandum in choro predicto et ex parte predicta. Item lego eidem ecclesie communem glosam super evaungelia cathenandam in choro predicto ex parte predicta. Item lego studentibus ecclesie Christi Cant. Epistolas Ieronimi. Item Concordancias Biblie. Item Tabulam super Augustinum. Item librum dictum Introitus in Dionisium. Item lego studentibus in collegio Cant. Oxon. fundato, librum dictum Magister Sentenciarum. Item lego Collegio de Eton Epistolas Augustini. Item Omelias Originis super Matheum. Item Augustinum de urbis domini et apostoli. Item Rabanum de Lodowicum. Item lego studentibus ecclesie Sancti Augustini extra muros Cant. Doctorem de Lira cum sua tabula. Item lego collegio Beate Marie Magdalene Oxon. librum dictum Alexandrum Nekam. Item lego Collegio de Wy Cant. dioc. librum dictum Thome Dockyng super Deutronomio et apocalipsis. Item lego collegio de Assheford dicte dioc. Glosam communem in Genesim. Item Glosam communem in Ieremiam. Item Glosam in Parabolas Salamonis. Item Glosam super Ysaia et Daniele. Item Augustinum super canonica Iohannis. Item Ysodorum de summo bono. Item lego domui sancti Thome de Acres quantum ad proprietatem, Librum Retractacionum sancti Augustini, ad vsum vero magistri Willielmi Wyresham ad terminum vite eiusdem, cui eciam lego ad terminum vite sue Jeroninum super Ysayam et Danielem, ac fidei sue committo quod post mortem suam tradatur collegio Beate Marie magdalene Oxon. ibidem perpetuo permansurum. Item lego domino Johanni Gilford militi librum de diversis cronicis et historiis. Item lego magistro Thome Coplond, Rectori de Bedynden, librum dict vitas patrum. Item eidem lego librum Gregorii in dialogis

et pastoralibus. Item lego domino Ricardo Prutt, Rectori de Sandherst, Omelias Bede et Eusebii. Item lego magistro Ricardo Willyford Willielmum Lynwoode super constitucionibus provincialibus. Item eidem Jsophum Antiquitatum. Item lego magistro Roberto Shefeld, Rectori de Chartham, Ambrosium super Comendac. Item lego magistro Ricardo Stevyns Tullius de Officiis. Item lego magistro Johanni Willyamson Rectori ecclesie sancti Georgii Cantuar. Laurencium de Valla, cum quodam tractatu De ordine judiciario. Item lego magistro Johanni Richardson Cant. librum dictum Belyall cum ceteris contentis. Item lego domino Willielmo Page de Maydeston Sanct. Thomas de veritatibus, cum Cronica Martiniana, et aliis contentis in eodem volumine. Item lego domino Johanni Mathew capellano Franciscum de Marone et Hugonem de Vienna super Ecclesiaste et Cantica canticorum. Item lego domino Johanni Carlesse librum Virgilii in Eneidos cum aliis contentis . . . Item lego fratri Johanni Standley ordinis minorum librum dictum Damascenus. Item lego domui fratrum minorum de Wynchelsea tabulam Reymundi . . . Item lego domino Thome Done, Innocentium de contemptu mundi. Item lego Georgio Aderton, cognato meo, meum portiferium nigrum . . . Item lego eidem Veteres legende, tam de temporali quam de sanctis in papiro scripte . . . Item lego eidem domino Thome [*i.e.*, Lynaker, studenti Florencii] libros subscriptos, viz. Magistrum Sentenciarium impressum, Thucideni historiarum Peloponencium impressum, Tullium in Nova Rethorica, in pargameno scriptum. Item eidem duos libros grecos vnum impressum, alterum pargamento scriptum. Item lego ecclesie sancti Benedicti juxta Bukelerisbury, London. Psalterium meum glosatum, ibidem cathenandum et perpetuo permansurum. Item lego domino Johanni Whyte de Benenden Faciculum temporum et Ecclesiasticum in ceteris contentum.

JOHN BETTS, Clerk. Proved 12th September, 1501. [3 Blanys].

Also I bequeath to All Sowlen College in Oxforde my booke called Pantholegia, conteyned in . . . volumes. And I will that it be bounden in a cheyne in the librarie of the same college; And that ther maie be written vpon every volume of the same; these wordis ensueyng that it to say: This is the gifte of John Betts clerk somtyme felowe of this college. And I bequeathe to the same College my booke called Almasorium conteyned in X partes, my Divisio Rasis, my booke called liber Antidotarii Rasis et Experimentorum, & Monitorum Rasis, and my booke called Anetomia, to be bounde with cheynes in the saide librarie & to be subscribed with the words afore expressed. Also I bequeath to the College within the Castle of Wallingforde, my booke called Racionale Divinorum in like condicion to be bounden in the librarie of the same collige and to be subscribed with these words, This is the gifte of John Betts clerk somtyme subdene of this college.

ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF OXFORD. Dated 30th May, 1537. Proved 6th November, 1537. [11 Dyngley].

Item I give and bequethe to the lady Surrey . . . a booke of golde having dyvers leffys of golde with the Salutacion of our Lady att the begynnyng . . . Item to the lady Anne Veer . . . a boke of golde of the valewe of C.s. with the picture of the crucyfix and the salutacion of our Ladye, to be newly made . . . Item I give and bequeathe to my sister Dame Mary . . . my booke of golde sett with perle.

THOMAS CRULL, citizen and grocer of London. July, 1540. [9 Abinger].

Item I bequeath and give to my godsonne John Ticheburne the son of Nicholas Ticheburne of London, grocer, marchaunt of the Staple at Calais, my matyns boke writt in vellum and lymned with gold and pictures accustomed to lye upon my counter bord. Item I give and bequeath to my son Nicholas Ticheburne . . . the father of my foresaid godsonne . . . my great boke called Polycronyca, writt in vellum and lyned in bordes. Item I bequeath and gyve to my cousyn Thomas Chamberlayn, the son of William Chamberlen, of London, draper, my two ffrenche bokes of the life of King Arthur, imprynted in paper and covered in bordes and redde lether. [To one of his exec.] Robert Draper, one of the masters of the Bridgehous, a prymar boke with David psalter, writt in vellum and lymed with gold, and bordyd, with a clasp of Latyn.

JOHN LONGLAND, Bishop of Lincoln. Dated 23rd March, 1st Ed. VI. Proved June 10th, 1547. Buried at Eton College. [1547. 39 Alen].

Item I geve and bequeath to my cathedral church of Lincoln to furnysh their lybrary with, all my bokes lying and being at Bugden of the greatest and best sorte. And the smaler sort I wold were distributed emong the persons and viccars of the countrey to pray etc. . . . Item I gyve and bequeath vnto the same college [*i.e.*, Eton] thies bokes to be enchayned in their lybrarye, Opera Chrisostomi, opera Hillarii, opera Origenis, opera Barnardi, Athanasium, Sermones Augustini. . . . Item I geve vnto Mawdelen College [?Oxford] to be chayned in their librarye thies bokes folowyng, viz., Thre large greate bokes bounden in white Lether fayre written called Septem Custodie, directing where to find thexposicion of scripture, necessarye for preachers and others that labourith Scripture, Wydonem vpon Paules epistles in twoo volumes, Beda in Canticis, Distinciones Odonis. Item alium librum scriptum, continentem varia bona opera. Distinciones Odonis super Psalterium. Item Augustinus de Gaudiis electorum et suppliciis dampnatorum, Distinciones Bromyardi, Liber sermonum Armachani, et liber Augustini de Cognicone vere vite, in vno volumine, Rabanus super Matheum, Radulphus monachus in Leviticum, Postilla super Apocalipsum, Postilla super cantica, Postilla quedam Lyre super Psalterium, Policraticus De nugis curiarum, et Vestigiis philosophorum, Opera Gregorii Nazanzeni, Bredwardinus contra Pelagium. Item I geve vnto Lincoln College Oxon. Ambrosius de Mysteriis, opera Hugonis, totum completum opus Hebraicum in sex voluminibus, Beda super Genesum, Summa sancti Thome, Ieronymus in Acta apostolorum, Sermones Leonardi de Vtino, opera Ieronymi in voluminibus illa que sunt in studio meo Holburnie. Item I geve vnto Orryell College the commen glose Petri Lumbardi vpon the Psalter, Notyngham super Evangelia, Rationale divinorum, Malum granatum, Beda de tempore, Libellus editus contra hereticos, Acta in concilio Basiliensi, Corram super Evangelia in duobus voluminibus scriptum. . . . Item I geve and have delivered to my cathedral church of Lincoln, to the use of the bishop of the See to mynister, celebrate and serve God within the same church, whan he cometh thider. . . . twoo bokes, one for the geving of ordres and the consecracion of bisshops, thother of benedictions, covered with cloth of gold. . . . Item I geve a fayre writen psalter to be chayned within my said Chapel there. . . . Item I geve to Edward Longland one work called Opus Cardinalis super totam Bibliam expositores with twoo of the best sermonyites

that are in my studye at Bugden. . . . Item to Mr. Clement Perrot Saint Thomas warke in volumes iiii. . . . Item to Dr. Royden . . . my litle small bokes concerning Making of dyalles and suche other like. Item I give and bequeth to the students of the lawe in Duresme College in Oxon, Abbas Panormitanus in fyve volumes, Summa Antonini, cum Cronicis in septem voluminibus, Summa Angelica, Summa Priscina.

NICHOLAS ELYOTT, of Dytton, Surrey, Gentleman. 1547. [44 Alen.] Proved 19th July, 1547.

Also I give to my cosyn Henry Polsted two books one called Titus Leveus, the other Chiliades Erasmy. Item I give to John Halles, gentilman, my loggike booke with white covering thoroly notyd, and one other at his choyce. And to Mr. Bromele I give two of my bookes being in his custody, suche as he list to chose. Also I give to Master Randall and Mr. Blackwall and Mr. Brace, to every of them two of my bookes . . . Item I give to Mr. Nowell skole-master of Westminster two of my bokes.

THOMAS WATTS, Archdeacon of Middlesex, left to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, the following books. 1577. [32 Daughtrey].

Theatrum humane vite in duobus voluminibus, Thesaurus lingue latine et Brittanice / Dictionarium Gallico-latino / Zwinglius in tribus voluminibus, Bullingerius in Danielem et Apocalypsum, Brentii opera in quattuor voluminibus, Joachim Vadiames quedam opera, Biblia greca / Gualterus in Actis / Josephi opera grece / Gualterus in Duodecim prophetas minores, Biblia Tigurina in magno volumine cum quibusdam annotacionibus, Biblia cum Duobus voluminibus cum annotacionibus / Moralia Plutarche Grece / Plato Grece / Opera Erasmi Tome 9, Caluinus in Esaiam / Opera Lutheri in quatuor voluminibus / Chronica Graftoni, Sleidanus, Polydori Virgilii Anglicana Historia Latina, Herodotus Grece / Basilius Grece / Thesaurus lingue latine in tribus voluminibus, Commentarii lingue grece / Budæus athor Dictionarum varini prophanorum / Johannes Calvin in omnes Pauli Epistolas / Hemingenius in Epistola / In Evangelia et Psalmis Bucerus / Dictionarium Hebraicum Fosteri Dict-Hebraic.

I, Thomas Watts, clerke, Archdeacon of Middlesex doe by these presentes, beinge a percell & codicill of my last will by me made by writinge, bearinge date the thre & twentieth of this May (1577) give & bequeath to the commen library within the college called Pembroke Hall in Cambridge as well all and every the Bokes above named / All which & others doo now remayne in my studie at my dwellinge house in London, As also all and every such other of my Bookes nowe remayninge at my house at Bockinge, as my good lorde Archbishopp of Canterbury shall think mete for the saide library.

BAGFORD'S NOTES ON BOOKBINDINGS.

By CYRIL DAVENPORT.

Read November 16th, 1903.

THE treatise on the art of bookbinding which at present enjoys the reputation of being the earliest known is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fr. 9157–8), written by a M. Jaugeon, between the years 1693 and 1704. The two papers by John Bagford to which I am calling attention cannot be much later than this, since Bagford died in 1716, and they may very well be as early, or even earlier.

The essays are not by any means unknown, they are mentioned by Mr. H. Horne in his "Binding of Books," and have been quoted from by Mr. Weale in his Catalogue of bookbindings at the South Kensington Museum. I have also known of them and of their accompanying examples, one at least of which is very rare, for some time; but I have not had an opportunity before the present of helping to rescue them from their long obscurity.

The papers are preserved in two of Bagford's scrap-books, now forming part of the Harleian Collection at the British Museum. The first is called "Of Booke Binding Ancient" (Harl. 5910. f. 131. a.), and gives an account of vellum rolls and waxen diptychs, which, however, he describes as being covered with "a past or sise, it being black." Then he treats of boards, and pasteboards and boards made of "oulde Ropes," and the sewing and headbandings. Chained books come in for condemnation, chiefly because

of the damage they do to the soft pasteboards, and also he says that they are not even safe against thieves, and instances some recent thefts of such books at "the publick library at Cambridge." Bagford describes, as well as he can, and with considerable acumen, the few old bindings which he had been able to collect together, and which he has preserved in the next of his scrap books; and a little further on he tells how the rubricator worked "with his stanselles."

The second paper is entitled "Of Booke binding Modourne," and Bagford begins this by explaining the various processes of collating, folding, and beating the leaves, and ruling the books with red. Gilding he mentions, but, unluckily, does not explain how it was done—whether glaire was used or not.

Embroidered books come in for a short notice, and so do the "buttons, stringes, tasselles, and ribandes" which were used for the ready turning to the parts of the book which were required, and fixed to the front edges of the leaves. A few inlaid leathers are also described, though Bagford can hardly have seen many specimens. Stamped books with armorial bearings and cyphers are noted, and there is a reference (which must be reckoned an early one) to bookplates as "armes or some other devise . . . . printed on paper . . . . pasted on the first leaf of the booke."

Bagford says that gilding and lettering on the back of books was first used in Spain, a dictum we can hardly agree with. Oriental styles of binding are well described, and finally he gives a list of the names of English binders who "ought to be remembered in after years." Among these he mentions Mr. Suckerman, "one of the best workmen that ever took tool in hand, and commonly worked for Mr. Morne [*i.e.*, Mearne], the binder to King Charles II and James II; . . . Natt. Tatnam, Richard Balley, bred under the tuition of Mr. Suckerman at Mr. Merne's, Mr. Stele, and Mr. J. Baker, binder to the Archbishop of Canterbury."

The paper on "Booke Binding Modourne" at the beginning of Harl. 5943, is followed by twenty pages of very thick blue paper, on which are

pasted various specimens of bindings and some MS. notes. Most of the bindings shown are described by Mr. W. H. J. Weale in his account of the bindings and rubbings at the South Kensington Museum.

On page 6 is a specimen of an all-over design by Samuel Mearne, red morocco, gold tooled, with curves and flowers, coloured black and silver, and a small panel with a figure of St. John the Baptist within a border "*Inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior Johanne.*"

On page 7 is a specimen of the panel stamp on calf, showing the coat-of-arms of Christ, with the label "*Redemptoris mundi arma.*" The stamp is a very curious one, and shows the emblem of the Passion, an open tomb in which stands a cross with nails, a crown of thorns, the reed, sponge, and spear leaning against it. On one side of the cross is a hammer and a rush, a tunic, and three dice; on the other are a pair of pincers, a hand with a purse, a lantern, and some money. As crest, there is a pillar with rods and scourges, and at the top a crowing cock. The supporters are two unicorns —emblems of purity.

In the upper corners are two small scutcheons, one bearing the cipher, and the other the trade mark of John Reynes.

The other side of the book shows two small panels, in the upper of which is the Royal Coat-of-Arms of Henry VIII, with small sun and moon and shields in the two upper corners, one bearing the cross of St. George, and the other the coat-of-arms of the City of London. The supporters are the red dragon of Cadwallader, and the white greyhound of the House of Beaufort. On the lower panel is the well-known device of a large Tudor rose, supported by two angels, bearing scrolls, upon which is the legend— "*Hec rosa virtutis de cœlo missa sereno* ‖ *Eternum florens regia sceptra feret,*" and in the two upper corners are two small scutcheons like those on the first panel, bearing the device and trade mark of John Reynes.

Next is an English panel stamp on calf, showing the "Mass of St. Gregory." The pope, assisted by deacon and sub-deacon, is kneeling before an altar, above which appears the figure of our Lord, with two angels,

one having a lance and the other a scourge. A handsome border of foliage and animals encloses the central device—at the top is a scroll with the words "*Ihesus filii dei,*" and another at the bottom with the words "*Scte Gregorii.*"

On the same page is a specimen of another English sixteenth century panel stamp in calf, with a figure of St. Barbara with her three-windowed tower, and round the border the legend "*Santa Barbara ora pro nobis ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.*"

At the bottom of the page is a small oval German stamp, impressed with bad gold. It shows a coat-of-arms bearing a boar springing up, and the motto "*Alit doctos.*" Above are figures of the Virgin Mary, and saints.

Pages 8 and 9 are an inset in Bagford's handwriting, giving a short description, especially noting all the letterings of all the bindings which were originally included in this particular collection. Some have been added since, but none have been taken away. On page 10 are contained three old panel stamps impressed on calf, the first two are the London sixteenth century stamps of the Royal escutcheon and the rose, varieties of which have already been noted on page 7. These under consideration are larger, and the rose-stamp has at the base the initials G. G., probably meaning Garret Godfrey, and the supporters of the Royal coat are two angels.

The remaining stamp is a fifteenth century Netherlandish one, showing a female figure surrounded by texts. It is a common stamp and of no great interest (Weale, p. 201). In the lower corner is the binder's device with initials "I. P."

On page 11 is a note giving the legend which is found on bindings by Antonius de Gavere, but there is no specimen of the binding itself. Below this are two more of the rose and armorial London stamps, the rose stamp has the device and initials of Julian Notary, and the armorial stamp has the supporters of dragon and greyhound. On 11ª are two impressions, the first is a fine English sixteenth century stamp, showing four figures of saints,

St. John the Evangelist with palm and chalice; St. Barbara with palm, book, and three-windowed tower; St. Catherine with sword, book, and wheel, an emperor under her feet; and St. Nicholas blessing three boys in a tub. At the bottom of the page is a specimen of a small Netherlandish sixteenth century panel stamp in two parts. The first shows St. John the Baptist preaching, with a dog in the foreground; the next shows St. Roche, with pilgrim's staff, and a dog with a loaf in his mouth in the foreground. The saint is showing a plague spot in his thigh to an angel standing on the right.

On page 12 are two specimens of Netherlandish stamps of the sixteenth century, in calf. The upper one shows both sides and the back of a small book. The back is divided into four panels, in which are figures of a stag, an ass, a wyvern compounded of a dragon and a serpent, and a boar. The sides show two rectangular panels in which is a wavy line of vine, enclosing figures of a monkey, an eagle, a wyvern, and a dog, all enclosed within a border, on which is the legend "*Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam et salut tuum da nobis.*" The panel at the lower part of the page bears the legend "*Jacob illuminator me fecit,*" it is ornamented with lines of circles, enclosing figures of animals and birds.

On page 13 the first specimen is one side of a French binding by Jehan Moulin, the other side of which is on page 18. Here we have a miller bearing a sack full of corn on his shoulders, and mounted upon an ass; in the lower part are two pigs feeding upon the acorns which have fallen from the oak in the upper part of the panel. The other side of this binding may as well be described here, as the two examples ought to be together, it shows a windmill with a miller carrying a sack of flour up a ladder, while the ass is feeding below. In the background is the word "Jehā."

On the opposite page are two sixteenth century English panels, in calf. The upper one, small, has in the centre the English royal coat-of-arms, enclosed within a garter, and ensigned with a royal crown. At the sides

are four small squares, in which are the Tudor emblems of double rose-pomegranate, castle of De Beaufort, and fleur-de-lys. On the border is the legend "*Deus det nobis suam pacem et post mortem vitam eternum amen.*" The lower stamp is a handsome one of the royal coat-of-arms, ensigned with a royal crown, and with the supporters dragon and greyhound. From the lower part of the escutcheon depend two portcullis. Above the shield is a small Tudor rose, and on each side of it an angel bearing a scroll.

On page 14 is a duplicate of the first specimen on the last page, and above it an impression from a large stamp which is often found on the same bindings as that of the shield with portcullis, last described. It is the coat-of-arms of Queen Catherine of Arragon, ensigned with a royal crown and supported by two angels. The coat is impaled with the English royal coat, and shows the coats of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, and the pomegranate badge of Grenada. A corresponding stamp exists, showing the coat-of-arms of Queen Anne Boleyn. About these, Bagford says that they were originally made for royalty, but afterwards were commonly used.

On page 15 are again two of the London stamps with Royal coat-of-arms and Tudor rose, but in these cases there are the initials "H. J." on each, with the device of Henry Jacobi.

At the lower part of the page is an impression of a very rare small stamp with the arms of Queen Anne Boleyn, ensigned with a royal crown. The royal English coat is impaled with the Queen's coats of augmentation and some collateral coats—that of Butler being left out.

The dexter supporter, called a lion by Mr. Weale, is really the leopard of Guyenne, with a collar and chain—the sinister supporter is a griffin, a badge of the Boleyns. The coats given are those of the Earls of Lancaster, Engolesme, Guyenne—all coats of augmentation, then those of Butler and Rochfort quartered, Brotherton, and the Earls of Warren. Henry VIII conferred these coats on Anne Boleyn when he created her Marchioness of Pembroke.

On page 16 are two impressions of English sixteenth century panel stamps, in each of which are two classical heads, and at the top a small royal coat-of-arms of England. A border of renaissance design encloses the central panels, and in the lower part of one of them are the initials "F. G."

On page 17 are two specimens of English sixteenth century panel stamps in calf, the upper shows two large medallions containing busts, flanked by six small semicircles of the same character. The lower impression is that of a panel with two busts of warriors as medallions, within a border of renaissance ornament, in the lower part of which are the initials "M. D."

On page 18 is yet another English stamp with two profile heads, and the second half of the "Moulin" stamp already described.

On page 19 is a fine impression in pigskin of a German sixteenth century stamp showing the Sacrifice of Abraham, with the words "*Ie grosser noht ie neher Gott.*"

On page 20 is a German sixteenth century stamp on pigskin. It shows Charity with children giving alms to a beggar, and round the oval containing this design is a ribbon with the words "*Que vocor insigni carium de nomine virtus omnia que pietas suatet obires.*" The borders round the central design are elaborate and characteristic of the German work of this period—medallions, and figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and small busts among conventional foliage and arabesques.

On page 21 are two large full-length figures of Luther and Melanchthon. They are sixteenth century German stamps, in gold, on vellum. At the base of each is a flying dragon with a ring in his mouth, the device of Louis Cranach, so in all probability he designed the figures. The initials "T. K." are probably those of the engraver of the block. In the two upper corners of the Melanchthon portrait are boys holding shields, one with the arms of the Duchy of Saxony, the other a serpent on a cross. In the corresponding corners of the Luther portrait, the shields bear the arms of the Elector of

Saxony, and a rose with a tau cross at its heart. Both figures have renaissance columns at the sides, and the names of the persons figured are given small labels. The stamps are not uncommon, but are ugly.

The remainder of this page is occupied by two more German stamped bindings on vellum, the upper of which has the initials "I. M. C." along the top, and the date 1591 below. The centre shows an oval containing a figure of Justice with sword and scales—and the legend "*Justiciae quisquis picturam lumine cernis dic deus est Justus*," and on scrolls at the top "*Spes*," "*Fides*" and "*Cha*," and "*Tem.*" The lower stamp bears an unidentified coat-of-arms, and is on vellum with a little colour.

Pages 22 and 23 contain fragments of an English sixteenth century binding, ornamented with a floral roll containing figures of a dragon, a monkey, and a wyvern, and the initials "G. G.," probably for Garret Godfrey. There is also a small sheepskin panel taken from a hornbook, and stamped in silver with a figure of St. George on horseback.

On page 24 are two English armorial stamps, with the arms of Aldborough and Carew, and finally a large Italian arabesque panel stamp, gilded all over.

BAGFORD'S NOTES.[1]

I.—OF BOOK BINDING: ANCIENT.*

(Harl. 5910 I. f. 131a.)

At first the Scribes, Stationers, and Antiquaries, that[2] they bound the book they wrote themselves, although afterwards it became a trade separate from that of a Stationer, but to look back as Ancient as the Jews, they had their Law wrote on Scrolls of a great length on the skins of Calves, Sheep, or Goats, though now they have the use of Cotton paper coloured very fine and stuck, and these Rolls were pasted together and so made of what length they please, and were used by the ancient Greeks and Romans as well as the rest of the world: (these Rolls I take to be the first used instead of Books) though they do not come up to the antiquity of rolls. As may be seen in the Tower the ancient Records are still used, and that office next to the Lord Chancellor of England is the Master of the Rolls, a place of [dignity]. And likewise we have remaining the ancient pedigrees in Rolls, with the bede-rolls belonging to the Monasteries, preserving the names of their Founder and benefactors, which served them for good use to get the penny.

The tables of the Law they were wrote on stone.

And then we have our table-books used by the Romans.

Slate tables, and made of Boxwood, and those made in Germany of divers colours made of coarse paper covered with a paste or size; it being

(1.) An attempt was made to print these Notes with the respect due to an Author's manuscript. It is hoped that the substitution of normal spelling and punctuation will be justified by the quotation of Bagford's opening sentence as it stands in his autograph:— "At first the Scribes Stationers and Antiquares that they bound the booke they wrot: "themselves althou afterward it became a trade separet from that of a Stationer but to "looke backe as Antient as the Jewes theay had ther Law wrot one Scroles of a grate "lengeth one the Skines of Calfe Shepe or Goates: thou now they haue the use of Cotton "paper Collered very Fine and Sticked ant these Roules ware pasted together and so mad "of what lengeth they please: and ware used by the Antient Greekes and Romans as will "as the rest of the world."

(2.) These recurrent "thats" seem to be governed by "memorandum" or "note."

black, white, and yellow colour, and they vend into all parts of Europe for the use of those who care not to carry pen and ink to take their memorandums in it, ready at all times; they write with a brass pen blunt at the end, and may be wiped out with a moistened thacher, from thence they are called Table Books.

Paper in those days when they were invented was not common.

Books of Antiquity, especially MSS, then were bound with boards, but out of several sorts of wood, as oak, beech, and some they had covered with box, and cedar wood, which the latter is rarely seen to books. And some few I have seen made of Bent Leather, but the oldest books we have seen is the Gospels of St. Austin and the Psalms of St. Thomas à Becket in the collection which Archbishop Parker gave to Bennet College in Cambridge. These two books belonged to the Church of Canterbury and there stood on the Altar . . . . while the Reformation in the reign of Henry the 8, days.

And the books with wooden covers had not at first any leather to cover the boards, as after they used to cover them with the skins of beasts, dressed several ways for the ornament of the books.

f. 131 b. And from the use of the outside cover, it being board is so called to this day, though now made of paper, about the days of King Henry the 8, and books began to be common.

Paste boards. Then they began to make boards for their books of paper, as several sheets pasted together while they had made it thick enough for their turn, and these sorts they called pasted-boards; and these sort was used in the binding of books to the middle of King James the 1.

and Schafferings. And then they began to make another sort of boards, made of old paper ground in a mill to pap, made the same way as they make paper, and these they made use of for all sorts of books.

And of late day they have invented another sort of boards made in a Mill for that purpose about Windsor, called the pasteboard mill, and these sort are made of old ropes, and made to their several sizes for their books, and after they be dry, with an Engine driven by water they are beat

and made smooth, and this they have brought to great perfection; and thus has pasteboard thrust out the use of wooden boards, they being subject to the worm and many times spoiled the books.

But I should have said before, that when they left off the use of the hard boards, they began to cover their books in vellum without boards, as still may be seen in the several Libraries, and this way for thin books did very well, but this ill convenience attended it, if the vellum was greasy the rats and mice commonly gnawed it to the damage of the Book.

For the sewing. For the sewing of the ancient books with double bands and with round thread made for the purpose, and this they performed with great exactness; the back of the book so sewed lay true and opened to the back, without the help of glue or paste, as now is used by the binders.

Headbands. And these, the Headbands, were made sometimes of thongs of leather of several colours dyed, and sometimes of silk.

Covers. And for the covering of books, they used several sorts of skins as calf, lamb, etc. This calf, commonly the grain was died of a pink colour and outsides white, and most commonly with large flaps to defend the fore edge of the book from gathering the dust; and sometimes you had the grain side outward, which for the most part [was] white like unto our white leather:

And what care was taken for the preservation of these old MSS. that were provided for the Libraries to keep them from fretting on the desks

Bosses. they were laid on; as first, they were bossed with brass, and sometimes of gilt with gold or silver, and some Hebrew MSS. books I have seen bossed

Clasps. with horn: then they had them clasped several ways, and not as we have them nowadays, but the clasp to lap over to the middle of the cover; some single, and some double clasps, and of these you had several sorts, as you may see in the old Library.

f. 132a. The next thing we are to observe is the titles of the books which were written on the left side of the book and covered with Horn and nailed on the cover, just as your children's horn books are made, to defend the

Horn title. inscription or title from wearing out; and this was to save them the trouble in opening the book for to know the title.

And these books for the most part were chained and fastened to the stalls or desks, opposite to the seats where the students sat in their library to study, and this chaining of the book to desks remained down to the time of the Reformation, but afterwards when these books were dispersed and taken out of the Libraries of the Abbeys and Monasteries at their dissolution, then were they collected by several hands that were lovers of Antiquity, as Archbishop Parker, Mr. Robert Hayer, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Thomas Bodley, etc. Then, I say, they were deposited in new erected Libraries, as that famous one at Oxford erected by Sir Thomas Bodley. And now I have gone about only to inform the curious that though a fashion in anything may be of use and then held very needful at the time when Invented and the Inventor to have praise . . . . . .

But, to the purpose in hand, [which] is that about chaining of books in public libraries. In my simple judgment there is no necessity of them, as first they damage the cover and leaves of the book or books by often taking them down by them that are to make use of them, and as for the securing of the books from being stolen, we have an example of late years in the public Library in Cambridge. If men will be thievish these chains are no security in the least. The book now standing on shelves alters the property of the Libraries; in old time when chains were invented and their books were but few to what we have now, since the invention of printing and the new fashioned pasteboards; that the chain frets the boards and leaves, as I said before, the ancient books being bound [in] wooden boards which defended them well from the harm that the chains do to the modern bound books, etc.

And this may suffice for the binding of our old MSS. and printed books; only this is to be observed that [in] the printed old books the covers were for the most part calf leather, and the outside of the covers were stamped with brass moulds with figures of several kind, as heads of Emperors, Kings, etc.: Arms of Kings and their devices as King Henry the seventh, etc.; sometimes the figure of some saint as Lawrence with his gridiron, St. Catherine with her wheel, and commonly with a label with some latin sentence on the label, or round the verge of the cover with the

like sentence. One I have by me, with this sentence in the Modern Gothic Letter: *Iacob illuminator me fecit;* another with the figure of a man on an Ass with a sack of corn on his back, an oak tree and swine feeding on the acorns, and this name Johanis Moulin: the illuminator or graver.

f. 132 b. On the other side of the cover the figure of a windmill with the Ass a-feeding at the foot of the mill, and the man a-carrying the sack of corn up into the mill, with Jehan, and the other side his device.

Some you have with the figure of Christ appearing out of the pax, held up by the priest, with two angels one each side of Him, round the borders of the covers adorned with beasts and fowls on branches of trees, and birds with mottoes or sentences in Latin: Several saints, both men and women, and on many of them the cyphers are the two first letters of the name of the printer and their devices: there was great variety and sorts, as the inclination of the printer and bookbinder led them. The book first printed of the King, as Henry the 7th (the stamps being cut in brass), his arms and supporters with the arms of Castile and Granada, and these were put to the covers of books after the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Spain, and the like, for King Henry the 8 by them that were his printer, binder, or stationer; and these, I say, stamps then at first intended only of the King, Queen, and Princes of the Blood's books, at last became common and were used indifferent to all sorts of customers or buyers of books. But then you are to understand, that though one of these stamps were intended and designed only for an octavo book, and this might be the dedication or present-book by the Author or printer, many times it served indifferently, with the addition of borders, a Rose and Crown, etc., for a quarto and a folio book.

And at first those that we call stationers' scribes, text-writers, and as old Chaucer calls them, scriveners (though the latter were not incorporated till the beginning of King James the 1st), and these, I believe, had all in their (offices) or shops, workmen of all sorts within themselves, as first the sizers of skins, for folios 4° and 8; then they were fulled, fit for the use of the scribes or writers; after they had done their part, then you had the

illuminator, and that of two sorts, the first was he that put in the great letter either in red, blue, green, and this he performed with his stencils, and when he had run through a whole book and filled up the vacant places designed for these great letters, then if required by some Prince or Nobleman (for mean persons could not be at that charge) as the Nature of the book was, supposing [it] to be of book of devotion you had the effigies and statues of the Saints in the great letters, and likewise in the margin you had the figures of beasts, fowls, and fruit, insects, etc., and at the beginning of the book either at the top or bottom of a border finely illuminated with gold and other colours, you had the arms of him that had bespoke the aforesaid book.

They had a joiner that made the boards fit to the sizes of the books for the bookbinder, likewise the claspmaker, and all other trades fit for and towards the finishing of their books.

Harl. 5910 I. f. 96 b.

(Out of a MSS. book of accounts belonging to the Great Wardrobe of the 15 of Edward the 4, 1474,) for the making 16 Laces and 6 Tassels for garnishing the King's Books 0–2–9 and to Robert Briller for Bla[n]k paper and nails for closing and fastening divers "Colyns of fyrie" wherein the Kings books were conveyed and carried from the Great Wardrobe to Eltham.

Piers Bauduyn Stationer for binding and dressing and gilding a book called Titus Livius	00. 10. 10
Item for the Holy Trinity - - - -	00. 16. 00
Item for Froissard - - - - - -	00. 16. 00
Item for the Bible - - - - - -	00. 16. 00
Item for the Government of Kings and Princes	00. 16. 00
Item for a small book in French - - -	
Item for a preface in Greek - - - -	00. 16. 08
Item for Le Fortresse du Foy, etc. - - -	
Item another called the Book of Josephus -	00. 03. 04
Item the Bible Historical - - - -	20 shillings
Item paid Piers Bauduyn for gilding an old pair of Clasps - - - - - - -	00. 02. 03
Item for parchment and paper, Red wax, thread, and Needles, Counters, per quarter - -	01. 00. 8

II.—OF BOOK BINDING: MODERN.

f. 2 a. *(Harl. 5943.)*

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth we here in England began to bind with pasted boards and boards made of the shavings and cuttings of books by the binder. The latter was made into paper, and afterwards taken up with frames made to the sizes they intended to have them, and afterwards pressed and dried till they were fit for the use of the binder. And the

Collating. first operation that he makes towards the binding of a book is to collate it, for the knowing whether it be perfect; and if any imperfections is in it, that he may have recourse to the printer or bookseller for the perfecting of it.

Folding. Then they fold them, which is commonly done by women, whether they be in folio, quarto, octavo, 12°, 24°, etc.

Beating of them on a stone for the making the paper smooth hath been but of late times practised. When the books are thoroughly dry and well beat, it keeps the worms out of the books: and this [is] most practised on Bibles, Common Prayers, etc.

Washing and Ruling. And some will have them washed and ruled with red, and of these I have seen as old as 1497, how much older I cannot tell, on the dedication and present-book. Some on the large paper and present-book, bestowed more ornament (than on them of the small paper) both for washing, colouring, ruling, and binding.

Then [they] were fit and ready for the sewing on bands of packthreads, or as they are in bulk, some on cords of larger size: then were they fit for to be pasted on the back, which was the old way, but here of late they have used glue; and headbanding them, sometimes double with silk of several colours, but commonly with red and blue thread.

And the leaves were coloured either with red, green, yellow, blue, marbled, which was used but few years ago, and sometimes you have the leaves black, done with crude antimony, and these were for Bibles, Common-prayer books and Funerall sermons.

Gilding of the leaves of books was a wonderful invention, to consider the many leaves that is in a book, and that after the gold is laid on and burnished, upon the opening of the book every individual leaf shall have his part; like the gilding of a piece of copper or silver and afterwards drawn by the wire-drawers to that fineness that the hair of one's head will not stick into the gauge that the wire you draw shall: and this Sir Thomas More speaks of in his answer to Tyndall in the reign of King Henry the 8, and he saith it was a new invention here in England.

f. 2 b. As for the covers of books that had several sorts and fashions: as to the time when they were bound, as in the time of Henry the 7, 8, Edward the 6, Mary, and Elizabeth, to these our times, and they were either of sheep, calf, russia, Turkey, as, red, blue, or purple, green or yellow, murrey-colour, or red calf.

And as they were by particular persons desired, or by them worked in Embroidery with silver and gold, sometime with bugles of various colours in severall figures, and sometimes on velvet, plush, satin, etc., and these many times richly adorned with clasps of severall shapes and fashions, silver gilt with gold, and sometimes inlaid as we have seen, not only Books of Devotion in the time of Popery, but since, Bibles, Common Prayer books.

Another use they had, for the ready turning to the chapters and parts of the book, and these you had in Mass Books: labels, buttons, strings, made of silk of various colours, tassels, and ribbons.

Another I have seen, enamelled on the Covers, that is laid on with several colours in knots, in several forms, and in imitation of those, of late days they have imitated by inlaying and cutting out of the cover, and letting in the same places several other colours of leather, and sometimes counterfeit with coloured paper, and these piece-workers with small tools.

As for stamps for books, you had various, as the owners of them pleased. The King's books most of them with the arms set off in the middle of the cover in gold, so likewise the noblemen had their arms, cyphers, and devices, done the same way, and of late days, which we

borrowed from the Italians, they had their arms or some other device or cypher, graved on a plate and printed on paper, which was pasted on the first leaf of the book, which are here made use of.

The gilding and lettering on the back of books, it was first used in Spain for the King's books in the Escuriall about the year . . . . and now become common here among us and other foreign parts.

And all nations have their peculiar ways of binding, as the Germans make use of vellum, and so do the Dutch: and are to be discerned at first sight, whether in Spain, France, or Italy, not only by manner of binding, but by the Leather and Gilding, for in France they make use of another Metal instead of gold, for the ornament of their books.

f. 3 a. The Turks and Persians have a peculiar manner in binding their books, and they are for the most part covered in leather of a sad red or buld [*sic*] colour leather, which they say is the skin of goats: others are of the opinion that it is the skin of wild Asses. Their binding is very neat, and the covers stamped in the middle of the cover with a brass stamp cut very fine, in an oval for the most part, and they have their sizes for their books as we have, as folios, quartos, and octavos, 12, 24, etc., but they set not their books on shelves as we here in Europe do, but are kept in apartments in their mosques and put into drawers, as most travellers that have been in those parts relate. Their books are not bound as the Europeans', theirs are set together with a sort of paste laid on the back of books, and over that they cover it with a piece of linen cloth, and with the headband the book is fastened to the cover, and all their books have flaps that cover the fore-edge of the book, not unlike our vellum pocket book and almanacs, but they have no clasps to them.

I have seen several of their MSS. written by the Turks and Persians but the binding is all alike.

As for those we have seen from the several parts of the East Indies written with a style or bodkin on their reeds, they are hung on a string like our Bakers' Tallies.

I shall not dwell no longer on this part, but shall let you understand that as there is binding for particular books, as them of law, they are bound

in calf leather, coloured yellow on the cover, and the leaves are white, which represents or and argent. Sometimes they are bound in Russia Calf but this ill-convenience attends it, that if two of them be put together on a shelf without great care, you may pull down the whole shelf of books on your head, and for that reason that sort of binding is left off, besides it wearing greasy.

And, as I said before, we have not only particular sorts of binding, so have we places that have been famous for binding, as Cambridge, Eton, and London, and at those places several workmen noted for their binding, as Suckerman was. If I mistake not, [he] was bred up at Eton, and perhaps one of the best workmen that ever took tool in hands, and commonly worked for Mr. Merne, the binder to King Charles the 2, and King James the 2; in his service he died, 16.., and was buried.

Besides others that have deserved well and ought to be remembered in after ages, not only for their true working in binding of books, but have added somewhat, each in their way of working, as Nott, Tatnam, Richard Balley, bred under the tuition of Suckerman at Mr. Merne's; he, I say, hath contrived to bind a book that at sight you could not know the fore-edge from the back, both being cut and gilded alike, but this is a mere piece of curiosity, but still shows the genius of the workman.

f. 3 b. Mr. Stele hath now the bonye [?] for th . . . and clean work.

Mr. I. Baker, binder to the Archbishop of Canterbury, ought not to be forgot, for his 'Folie Quem Faciunt or the bookbinders Case unfolded,' or much work worked on at a small price.

And here I will give you another quotation out of the famous [Richard] Head out of his "Art of Wheedling" printed 1679, and as he saith in his one word a quondam member of that illustrious occupation.

page 258. 'Before Printing was there was Book-binding, for what Manuscripts were then in being, were made publick by transcribing them, by certain Clerks writing a good Hand, and made a livelihood thereof, the written Books were conveyed to the Binder, who bound them after what manner

the Owner directed him, as Authors and Books encreased, so did his profit by his Trade, insomuch that some of these Binders grew rich, and purchased so many Manuscripts as to furnish a Shop indifferently according to those times, and dying left their sons well stocked: but Printing coming in, broke the neck of the writing Clerks, but yet gave a considerable lift to the rising Book-binder, who not only bound for others but himself, and Printing his own Copies, had work enough to do to bind his own books, his stock increasing by the benefit of Printing, it was business enough for him to mind his Shop, and see that his servants pleas'd his customers, and now resolves to work no more: His sewing-Press lies mouldly in the Garret, his Plow neglected lies, and his Knives rust; the screws of his standing and his cutting-Presses have forgot, their wonted duty, and stubbornly won't stir an inch for any; his Marble-moody-beating-stone weeps incessantly to see the weighty Hammer lie rusting in a corner unregarded: In short, if he work it is for his pleasure, and what pains he takes now and then in binding of a Book is his Pastime. The Son after his Fathers Decease scornes the mean Title of a Bookbinder, and therefore employs others, and is henceforward stil'd a Bookseller; and the rest of his Brethren, who are able, follow his example. Thus, as Binding formerly was the Rise of a lazy Bookseller.' [Quoted from p. 251, *Proteus Redivivus*, London. 1679, 2nd edition].

Hornbook, and Primers, Psalters, and Testament Binders.

f. 4 a.

To begin with, the Horn Book or A. B. C. which of old was called the Battledore, is still so called by the Quakers, and the reason why so called is, that the teachers of children to know the letters of the alphabet, they having made the 24 letters large, fixed them on the back of the door of their lower room, and perhaps might be called the butter-room or pantry.

And before the children or youths were [given] their breakfast, the parents or master with a long wand, or as they have it now, a fescue, point to one of the letters, requiring of the child the name, or to speak in the language of the schools, "what letter is this," and perhaps the child might hit on the right, as A, then he was called Good boy, and so on, and for their better encouragement they should have their bread and butter last, to incite them to learn. And methinks, somewhat of the same use remains

to this day in both our Universities of batteling in the Buttery, and perhaps in former times the scholars in their colleges were obliged before they received their breakfast to perform their exercise, and their way of keeping their accounts in their buttery books, seems to me very [old] and not unlike to the alehouse scores, farriers, bakers, etc., which before the art of printing was found out, few people there were that could write and read. For the word Battell.

Thus I have given you an account of the battledore; the next name it received was a Hornbook, for being covered with a plate of thin horn to defend the paper from the children's fingers from wearing it out and blotting and obliterating the letters. Although at first these Alphabets with the Lord's prayer were printed on vellum, it being more durable and lasting than paper, and these were printed at first at the beginning of their primers, and before printing was in use, they were written by the Stationers that lived in, and had their stands in, Paternoster Row as well as the Ave Maria, and Creed makers; they being turners of beads, from whence Beadsman took its name; those beads are still in use with the Roman Catholics.

f. 4 b. The hornbook binders, buy the printed leaves 16 on a sheet at the Stationers' Hall, perhaps to the quantity of a quire or two; having the boards ready cut out, he covers them, that is the printed paper with a plate of horn, and with a thin plate of brass for the borders or verges of the horn, with short tacks he fastens them to the boards.

But if you will have them for children of higher rank, they are covered on the back side [with] leather dyed with brazil wood, from whence the leather is called brazil leather, and on the back side is stamped with brass or silver the figure of St. George.

I have heard an old bookbinder declare that this small book before it be finished, runs through a hundred several hands: the primer binders is another trade distinct of itself; they use neither sewing nor banding to these sort of books, and of these there are two sorts, gilt and plain, the gilt ones are stamped with the figure of . . . .

The Psalter and Testament binder.

A ROUGH LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE BAGFORD COLLECTION.

As this is the second time that the Bibliographical Society has interested itself in Bagford's typographical collections, the following rough list of the contents of each of the volumes in its present form has been drawn up under my superintendence, in order that search may be facilitated, and a better idea obtained of the collection as a whole. In fairness, however, to Bagford, it must be stated that the collection as it now exists is only a shadow of its former self, nearly all the most valuable prints and complete printed documents in it having been removed and separately catalogued. Until a few years ago the whole collection was kept in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, but the volumes containing Printed Fragments have been separated and are now preserved in the Department of Printed Books, though still retaining their old Harleian pressmarks.

A. W. POLLARD.

I.—PRINTED FRAGMENTS.

Harl. 5906 B., 5908, 5910 (pt. 1–4), 5943, 5953 (pt. 1), 5997:—History of Printing in England; London history and topography.

5906 B.—28-30, Bagford's Proposals for a History of Printing; 134, cut of an English press. *5910* (1).—58, 59, 87, portions of a Prognostication beginning "In Maye the first quarter"; 114, 137, 142-144, Grievances of Printers and Booksellers; 115, prices of bookbindings; 148, names of stewards of annual meeting of Masters and Workmen-Printers, 1621-81; (4) 2, 23, 24, 30, 31, Devices of J. Allde, E. Mattes, E. Allde, R. Dexter, T. Pavyer. *5943*.—22, fragment of block-printed Biblia Pauperum; 53, proofs of Horn Book in 16° sheet. *5953*.—9, Form of Admission to Confraternity of Bethlehem Hospital, 1519; 62, Proclamation by the Mayor as to Watching the City, 1557; 72, indulgenced English cut of S. Cornelis. *5997*.—132, woodcut border.

Harl. 5914. Foreign Titlepages, chiefly from Basel, Venice, Cologne, Frankfort, Paris, Lyons.

190-220, 230-259, 324-347, Initial Letters.

Harl. 5915. Alphabets, initials, type sheets, bookplates, titlepages, and fragments of early books.

7, 8, pictures of libraries; 45, first page of Oxford Lattebury; 106, etc., Basel titlepages, borders, and initials; 150, proof of unfinished cut imitating Biblia Pauperum (?); 172, etc., Venetian initials; 201, etc., cuts of printing presses; 217, Order to be Observed in this Printing House; 247, an explanation of the Greek Ligatures; 248, etc., Giunta ornaments; 275, etc., English initials, 381, a General Note of the Prices of Binding, 1669; 384, etc., Dutch type-sheets; 452, etc., English type-sheets; 459, Proves of several Sorts of Letters cast by Joseph Moxon, 1669; 460, Specimen by H. Meere; 502, 'Ex libris Petri de Maridat' (coloured); 510, etc., English armorial cuts and engravings; 526, etc., English armorial bookplates, Bysshe, Justinian Pagit, Hodges, Charlett, Pepys, Sunderland, Sydenham, Bengough, Tempest.

Harl. 5916. Cuts and engravings of Protestant Martyrdoms (mostly from Foxe), and of Funeral Monuments.

Harl. 5917. Specimens of French printing and illustration. 1500–1700.

Harl. 5918. Specimens of printing and book illustration in the Low Countries and Spain. 1480–1700.

Harl. 5919. Fragments of early English books, examples of borderpieces, and printers' marks.

CAXTON fragments.—2, Directorium; 6, Blanchardyn; 7, Chaucer's Book of Fame; 8, S. Wenefryde; 149, Polychronicon; 190, Pilgrimage of the Soul; 199, Recuyell. ROOD of Oxford.—139, Liber Festivalis. MACHLINIA.—5, Treatise on the Pestilence; 11, Speculum Christiani; 189, Chronicles of England. WYNKYN DE WORDE.—4, woodcut title of De Proprietatibus; 16, Mandeville; 30, Merlin (1529); 33, Libellus Sophistarum (1510); 35, Gospell of Distaves (?); 36, Vocabulorum Significationes (1509). PYNSON.—109, Ship of Fools (1509); 131*-2*, Indulgence, S. James of Compostella; 187, Bull of Julius II. NOTARY, etc.—221, Albertus de modis significandi. A. VERARD.—215, Barclay's Castell of Labour. R. COPLAND.—45, Howleglas. PEPWELL.—167, Elchiridion Eckii (1531). WYER.—104, 105, 107, 132, 206, 209. W. COPLAND.—113, Parable of the Wicked Mammon (1549). OTHER FRAGMENTS.—19, 37, 44, 46, 65, 81, 86, etc.

PRINTERS' MARKS.—Bankes, 131; Bourman, 176; Bushell, 62; Chard, 78; R. Copland, 126; Dawson, 59; East, 197; R. Fakes, 178; Field, 84, 90, etc.; Hall, 63; J. Harrison (1633), 48; Jackson and Wyer, 100, 101, 206, 210; Kyngston, 112, 117; Ling, 72; H. Middleton, 77, 80; W. Middleton, 130, 150; W. Norton, 123; Pynson, 106; J. Rastell, 102; W. Rastell, 174; Redman, 133; Robinson, 24, 82; Serle, 56, 255; Skot, 115, 135; Smethwick, 291; H. Smith, 174; R. Smith, 58; Treveris, 124; Vautrollier, 93; Windet, 57; Wynkyn de Worde, 28, 29, 196.

'LACE-WORK' BORDERS.—Coldock, 61; Hatfield, 73; How, 216; Marsh, 88; H. Middleton; 32; Okes, 69; Orwin, 68; Robinson, 54, 257.

WOODCUT BORDERS.—Ballard, 154; Berthelet, 234; Dawson, 66; Marshe, 243, sqq.; W. Middleton, 129, 158; Tottell, 181, 200; Vautrollier, 165; Wayland, 53; Whitchurch, 47; Wykes, 236, 238, 240.

MUSIC.—Bateson's First Set of English Madrigales (1604), 222.

PORTRAITS (spurious).—Caxton, 3; Wynkyn de Worde, 27.

Advertisement of Things Lost (1614), 75.

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79, Catalogues of books sold by J. H. Fischer, of Leipzig (c. 1700); 119, 339, by D. Zunner, of Frankfort (1698-1700).

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Harl. 5922. French printing: Titlepages, colophons, printers' marks, and initials.

772, 776, English books printed in France.

Harl. 5923. English titlepages, a few engraved. 1660–1700.

Harl. 5924. English titlepages, several engraved. 1600–1712.

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Harl. 5925. Italian printing: Titlepages, colophons, and printers' devices.

Harl. 5926. Foreign titlepages, etc., from books printed at Cologne, Genoa, Geneva, etc.

Harl. 5927. English printing: Many printers' and publishers' marks, borderpieces, engraved titlepages, miscellaneous woodcuts, and a few black-letter fragments.

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Harl. 5933. Marks of Foreign Printers and Publishers.

Harl. 5934. Copies of Blockbooks and Grotesque Alphabets, with some leaves of early books.

Harl. 5935. Maps, Nautical Instruments, Statistics, Post Office.

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Harl. 5939. Swiss printing, mostly Basel books of the 16th century, with a few French and Italian titlepages.

Harl. 5940. Specimens of paper, with two pamphlets on the Paper Tax. 1694.

Harl. 5941. Specimens of Oriental paper.

Harl. 5942. Petitions against duties on paper, advertisements of paper sales by inch of candle, tables of prices, stamps on bales of paper.
Leaf from Caxton's Polychronicon.

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Harl. 5944. Coloured German woodcuts (chiefly from the 'Herbarius' and 'Passionael'), architectural engravings, drawings of Tartars, etc.

Harl. 5945. Engravings and woodcuts of funeral monuments, processions, ceremonies, and executions.

Harl. 5946. Proposals for printing books, quack medicine, lotteries, etc.
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Harl. 5953. Collections for London topography (churches). *See also* 5906.

Harl. 5953. III. Collections for London topography (academies). Extracts from Origines Juridiciales, etc.

Harl. 5953. V. Collections for London topography. The government of the City.

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Harl. 5954. Collections relating to the General and Penny Post, and Mr. Dockwra's Post.

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Harl. 5995. Book advertisements, titlepages, printers' marks, fragments of Tudor books, etc.

PRINTERS' MARKS.—Bell, H., 18; Day, J., 39; Harrison, J., 33; —, R. 11; Jones, W., 36; Lyng, N., 17; Myddleton, W., 4; Oxenbridge, I., 24; Purfoote, T., 30; S—— (G.), 46; Singleton, H., 25; Waldegrave, R., 21; Windet, J., 1, 38; Wolfe, J., 10.

WOODCUT BORDERS.—Hacket, T., 40; Purfoote, T., 2; Short, P., 186; Tottell, R., 3; Woodcock, T., 5.

Card Wrappers.—47, 50. Stationers' Company Import Form.—63; Fragments of Melebea, 188 sqq.; Curia Tapresitie, Skelton, Guy of Warwick, Scogan, etc.; Arithmetic Books; Power of Attorney, by J. Bagford, Junior, when a sailor.

Harl. 5996. Advertisements of books, book auctions, lotteries, insurance offices, etc.

Harl. 5907. *See* 5906.

Sloane, 885, 1044, 1086, 1983 B.; leaf from Gutenberg Bible, and other vellum fragments from service books and other incunabula; half-sheet of proofs of Sarum Horæ, printed at Venice, by Hertzog; early copperplate illustrations, woodcuts, and engravings.

II.—MANUSCRIPTS.

Harl. 5414. Fragments of Latin MSS. from bindings.

Harl. 5419. MS. copies of titlepages of Commonwealth tracts for the most part, 1648–1650.

Harl. 5892. A list of some early London printers, with titles of some of their books.

Harl. 5893. Collections for the history of paper-making and the early history of printing. MS. copy of D. (J.) A Scourge for Paper Prosecutors, etc., continued by A. H.

Harl. 5894. Lives of printers (Basle), copies of their epitaphs. Lists of incunabula (*sine loco*), catalogues of libraries, English catalogues, auction sales of libraries (1676–98).

Harl. 5895. Catalogue of the public library in Doctors' Commons, under authors, 1707.

Harl. 5896. Engraving. Lists and lives of engravers.

Harl. 5897. Collections for Italian printing. Lists of incunabula, arranged under towns. Lives of printers, etc.

Harl. 5898. Collections for a history of libraries. Lists of booksellers, schoolmasters, etc. Plan for a typographical dictionary.

Harl. 5899. Collections from Chroniclers, Holinshed, Speed, etc. Copy-books, writing, shorthand, etc.

Harl. 5900. Collections relating to the history of London. An account of the libraries in and about London. ff. 44–52.

Harl. 5901. Collection relating to type. Account of the matrices bought by Bishop Fell in 1679. A history of the progress of the art of printing in the University of Oxon (with a list of books printed up to 1709).

Harl. 5902. Collections for the history of French printing. Lists of early books printed at Paris, Lyons, etc., with lives of printers, etc.

Harl. 5903. Copies of patents to printers and of proceedings for infringement of copyright (almanacs and law books).

PATENTS.—Grafton and Whitchurch, Tottell, Yetsweirt, Stationers' Company, Moore, Thomas Wight, and Bonham Norton. Calendar of Patents.

LAW CASES.—Streater, Twyford, Seymour, Flesher, Roycroft. Cass Case (ASSURANCE).

Harl. 5904. English 16th century titles, arranged under the printers' names.

Harl. 5905, 5907. Collections for the lives of early English printers, Caxton, Vautrollier, Pynson, Berthelet, etc.

CHAUCER, Letter of Thomas Hearne respecting, f. 125–130.

Printer's mark, W. Williamson, f. 36.

Harl. 5906 A. Collections for the history of printing (Germany). List of Strassburg incunabula. Trees as printers' marks, f. 24.

Harl. 5906 B. Collections for the history of printing (English). Letters from T. Tanner, Hearne, and others.

Harl. 5908. Titles of various editions of the Bible. Catalogue of Wanley's collection (now in St. Paul's), with subsequent note by Wanley 1 f. (61) of Chaucer's Griselda. Petitions, etc., regarding Bible-printing (1659), f. 65.

Harl. 5909. History of the translations of the Bible. Argument before the Committee for Printing, 17 Chas. [I], f. 26, for free printing of Bible. Collections from Strype, etc., as to licensing, etc.

Harl. 5910 I. Collections of titles, ecclesiastical, Martin Marprelate; 'The Lamps of the Law,' etc., lists of ballads, newspapers, W. Kilburne; character of a diurnal maker, etc.; chap-books; licensing, f. 84. The case of the booksellers and stationers relating to the patent for common law books, f. 86. Decree of Star Chamber concerning printing, 11th July, 1637, f. 97. Petition of master printers, f. 105. Grievances of poor printers, f. 107. Brotherly meeting of masters and workmen printers, 1621–1681, f. 111 (names); Seymour's grant for school books, 21 C. II, f. 113. Stationers' Company licensing order, 117. Agreement for selling to hawkers, 1693, 119. List of King's printers. Notes on bookbinding. Prices of bookbinding, f. 135. Obits of booksellers, f. 140. Lives of English printers. Scotch, Irish, etc., books, f. 226. Note on Irish printing, 249.

Harl. 5910 II. Collections for lives of Grafton, Day, Copland, Tottell, Wyer, Wayland, Wolfe, etc. Provincial printing. Licenses to print, f. 77, etc., f. 102, etc. Canterbury, Worcester, Cambridge, f. 106; Oxford, Norwich, f. 138, f. 151 (first? 1701, broadside). Collections for printers' marks, rebuses, etc., f. 153. Paper-making. Will of John Tate, paper-maker, 1507, f. 177. Collections for a history of the Bible (dup.). Act 3, 4 and 5, Henry 8. Paris and Nuremberg printing.

Harl. 5910 III. Collections of titles, Cologne, Low Countries, Italy, etc. Eastern printing. Fair copy of part of Bagford's collections for the history of printing; on f. 120b is a description of the source of his collection (from the waste of Mr. Christopher Bateman, bookseller). Type-founding described. Wooden letters, etc., f. 132b. Watermarks on Record Office papers, 176. Collections for the history of T. East, Bynneman, Myddleton, etc. Collections for life of John Davies, of Hereford. Tho. Churchyard, London books without printer's name, 227. Seres, Andrews, Windet, and many other Tudor printers.

Harl. 5910 IV. York printing, Mylner, f. 13. London printing titles. Letters to Bagford (many with prices). List of patents, f. 130. Collections for Wm. Faithorne, Vautrollier, Blackfriars printing, f. 150. German and other incunabula (under towns). Bagford's catalogue of his collection. Letters from Hearne.

Harl. 5911. Letters by Wanley. Petition to University for leave to examine bindings and remove fragments. Collections regarding libraries, MSS., etc. A history of shoemaking, f. 92. Magnet. Account of W. Barlow, 110.

Harl. 5912. A survey of the Tower (1620). Papers relating to Master of the Ordnance, Mint, etc. Accounts, etc. Stationers' bills.

Harl. 5913. A survey of the Tower (1620), another copy. Originals of Harl. 5912. Papers relating to St. Katharine's by the Tower. Inventory of plate, etc.

Harl. 5915. MS. fragments. Anglo Saxon grammar, 9. One folio, illuminated, of a book on medicine (lib. 6), 25.

Harl. 5934-8, 5941, 5949, 5959, 5966, 5978. MS., some illuminated, music, etc. Letters from Hearne. Arabic, Persian. A newsletter in writing: "The Advice Packet Boat," Tuesday, January 29th [16]94, f. 30.

Harl. 5943. Of bookbinding, modern. Specimens of stamped and armorial bindings.

Harl. 5953 I. Topography of London, I.

Harl. 5955. An Accademie of Armory, with Randle Holmes' plates. Engraved by P. Edwards; Chester printed.

Harl. 5958. MS. fragments. Liturgical, with music. Description of the Shepherd's Calendar or Wooden Almanac (1685), 88.

Harl. 5977. MS. fragments. f. 90, R. Hampole.

Harl. 5979. Titles of Tudor books, and extracts relating to them.

Harl. 5980. Collections for topography of London. f. 290, Stationers.

Harl. 5981. Collections for a history of shoemaking.

Harl. 5997. Letters addressed to Bagford. Note books. Barker, 128.

Harl. 5998. Bagford's account book. Prices of second-hand books.

Sloane 885. Collections for the history of writing. Writers on English topography arranged under counties. Bible, Martin Marprelate, Magnet. Indices, etc.

1983A. Vaughan redivivus.? not Bagford.

1983B. Collection of various fragments. Astrological, etc.

1086. MS. fragments, a few capitals.

1044. Fragments of MS., English (? Hampole), 235; Guy of Warwicke (208 ll.) 248; Herbal, 263; drawings of printers' marks and watermarks, 343 sqq.; Miscellaneous notes of titles.

THE AMES COLLECTION OF TITLEPAGES.

Besides this Collection of Bagford's, the British Museum also contains part of that of Joseph Ames, the author of the *Typographical Antiquities*, though this has never hitherto been assigned to him, and has very often been confused with the Bagford cuttings. This Ames Collection stands in what is known as the "Large Room" at the British Museum, occupying press 463 h. 1–9. It contains in all some 10,428 fragments, arranged as follows:—

England, Scotland, and Ireland:	
Caxton—1600	630
1600—1672 (now 3 vols.)	3,717
1673—1748 (now 2 vols.)	3,078
Foreign Cities:	
A—B. Antwerp—Brussels	1,360
C—J. Cologne—Jena (now 2 vols.) ...	1,653

It will thus be seen that, though now arranged in nine volumes, the Collection originally occupied only five, answering to the description in the memoir prefixed by Gough to Herbert's edition of the *Typographical Antiquities*, where he mentions "Ames's collection of titlepages to books, "from 1474 to 1700, in three volumes folio, with several bundles more, "and of titlepages alphabetically arranged, according to the place where "printed, in two more folio volumes." To render the identification complete, it need only be noted that the Collection ceases at 1748, the year before the publication of the *Typographical Antiquities*, and that it actually contains proofs of some of the plates made for that work. It was this last fact that first convinced me that the Collection must be identical with part of that of Ames, as described by Gough in the passage of which I have just quoted the beginning. As it stands, however, the passage reads in full:—

"Mr. Ames's collection of titlepages to books from 1474 to 1700, in "three volumes, folio, with several bundles more, and of titlepages

"alphabetically arranged according to the place where printed, in two "more folio volumes; a written titlepage with a curious border containing "some thousand letters cut in wood, a folio volume bound in Russia, were "purchased by Mr. Walpole; a collection of initial letters from the "beginning of printing, with some notes by Mr. Ames; and a catalogue of "Caxton's books, portraits, and devices of printers; making in the whole "seven large portfolios and three bundles, were purchased by Mr. West, "and at his sale, 1773, by Mr. Bull."

From this it would appear that the five volumes mentioned in the first paragraph, which are now preserved in the British Museum, were bought by Walpole. On communicating, however, with Mr. W. Y. Fletcher, whose paper on Bagford first aroused my interest in the subject, he unearthed from Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. vi., p. 643, the statement that "after Mr. West's sale, some curious volumes of loose papers and titlepages were presented to the British Museum, and sent up into the garret among the old volumes, in the same room with the Gazettes, No. 8, in the left-hand side going into the room." We must, therefore, either conclude that these "curious volumes" (the identity of which with those of Ames can hardly be doubted) were originally purchased by West and not by Walpole, or else that the sale of West's volumes reminded Walpole of his possession of these, and stirred him to present them to the British Museum. As Nichols makes no mention of any "bundles" of papers accompanying them, it is to be feared that these, which must have contained the titlepages of books printed in foreign towns, M–Z, were lost between 1760 and 1773, the respective dates of the Ames and West sales.

The identity of the Collection and the sequence of its arrangement have both been obscured by some carelessness in the arrangement of the fragments at the beginning of two or three of the volumes. Thus, some foreign titlepages are mixed with the Caxton and Machlinia fragments at the beginning of the first volume, and it is not until No. 143 that the English sequence goes on uninterruptedly from the year 1534 to 1600. In the same way a single French titlepage of the year 1584 coming at the

beginning of the second volume caused it to be lettered 1584–1629; whereas, with this exception, it follows uninterruptedly on the previous volume, beginning at 1600. The titlepages being thus all arranged chronologically are of real historical value and in strong contrast to Bagford's haphazard collections. By means of a printed list of English printers an attempt was even made at an Index. In the foreign section, on the other hand, neither the alphabet nor chronology is very carefully followed, as though the bulk of the titlepages of books printed in the same town are kept together. As long as the towns began with the same letter the arranger was quite content to mix the titlepages to suit his convenience.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOME DEVOTIONAL BOOKS PRINTED BY THE EARLIEST ENGLISH PRINTERS.

By THE RIGHT REV. F. A. GASQUET.

Read January 18th, 1904.

IT may be safely said, I think, that bibliographers are mainly devoted to the work of analysis. They have given us much useful and precious information as the result of their long and patient scientific examination of the forms and sizes of books, and of the characteristic differences of early types and early bindings. And although Bibliography is a word which is now made to cover a great variety of meanings, in its ordinary and common signification, at present—whatever may have been its original sense—the word denotes, I fancy, the science of book-learning so far as the *externals* of books are concerned. It is of course without the slightest idea of disparaging investigations and labours—to which we are indebted for so much pleasure and profit—that I purpose, at present, to ignore all these careful distinctions of printers, and bookbinders, and stationers, the outcome of so much original and laborious research, in order to try in this paper to make a synthesis. In other words, I propose to some extent to consider books from the *inside*, and, taking a general survey of the religious literature of England in the first few decades after the introduction of printing, to try to obtain some general notion of what it was chiefly concerned with. The subject is, of course, too vast to be

treated in detail within the limits of any paper, however long, and to bring it somewhat more within manageable compass I purpose to limit my examination to the period ending with the first year of King Henry VIII (1510).

At the outset, what must strike every observer on examining the literature published by our first printers in England, or by foreign printers for the English market, is the great number of the religious and devotional books. For example, out of 102 works, or editions of works, printed by Caxton, at least sixty-two must be classed in the category of religious publications, and out of 130 items recorded by Ames as published by Wynkyn de Worde up to 1510, all, except thirty-four, fall into the same class. The thirty-four exceptions, it may be remarked, are mostly chronicles, school books, and the like. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the religious and devotional books that have come down to us really represent merely a portion of those which were actually published. They are those only which have survived ill usage, neglect, and that wholesale destruction wrought by the fanatical spirit roused in the religious troubles of the sixteenth century. The number of unique Caxtons, for instance, is truly astonishing. Thirty-eight works out of the 102 known to have been published by our first printer now exist only in single copies, or, indeed, in many instances, in fragments of copies. Mr. Blades thus comments upon this extraordinary fact: "This question," he says, "naturally arises: If about one-third of Caxton's issue has been *nearly* destroyed, how numerous may have been the editions of which we shall never learn the existence? A glance at the titles of the *uniques* will show that the books most liable to destruction, probably owing in part to their being much used, and in part to the destructiveness of religious sectarianism, are those, directly or indirectly, of an ecclesiastical character—such as *Horae*, 'Psalters,' 'Meditations,' etc." What is true of Caxton's publications is, of course, equally true of those of Wynkyn de Worde, and it may be assumed, consequently, that a large number, and probably a very large number of works of a religious character, which were published by our early printers, have altogether perished. Even in the days of such great

bibliographers as Herbert and Ames the feeling of contempt and dislike for the religious books of bygone days had apparently by no means died out, and I believe that it was the former who thought it necessary to apologise for cataloguing and manifesting even an archæological interest in books, the subject matter of which could hardly fail to be eminently distasteful to the bulk of his readers. At this time, however, I feel sure that no apology is required for asking your consideration to-night of these same books themselves, even regarded as books, rather than as antiquarian specimens.

The religious literary productions of our first printers fall naturally into one or other of two main divisions: (1) those that are liturgical, or strictly devotional, and (2) those which are books of religious literature proper. I purpose to speak mainly about this second division, but first something may be said of the former.

A.—*LITURGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL BOOKS.*

This division comprises:—

1. The *Missal*, or Mass-Book, which is defined by Lyndwoode as "the book containing all that is to be said at Mass on all days" of the year. The editions of the Missal for English use, now known to have been printed up to 1510, are twenty-two in number. These are all of the Use of Sarum, with the solitary exception of the Hereford Missal, printed at Rouen on 1st September, 1502. For many years it was supposed that the first printed English Missal was that of 1492, issued by Morin at Rouen; but in later times an edition of 1487 was discovered. Although printed abroad at the little-known press of Guillaume Maynyal, this volume is of exceptional interest for us, as the work was really done for Caxton—"*impensa optimi viri Guillermi Caxton* . . . ." Besides this, according to Mr. Weale, another edition of the Sarum Missal, earlier than that of 1492, was printed at Basle about 1488. The first edition of the Mass-book actually printed in London was that issued by Julian Notary in 1498; the other English impressions up to 1510 being those of 1500, 1504, and 1508. In the same period nine editions were issued at Rouen and six at Paris.

2. The *Breviarium*, or *Portiforium*, which contained the divine services, other than the Mass, whether for public or private recitation. Of these only twelve editions prior to 1510 are now known to be extant, although we may suspect that many more were really printed. The earliest known edition of the English Breviary is one for York, printed at Venice in 1493. Besides the small 16mo *Breviarium* for the Hereford use, published at Rouen in 1505, the rest are all Sarum *Portiforia*. Of these, three were printed in London, the first by Richard Pynson for the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, about 1499; the second, also by Pynson, in 1500; and the third by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. De Worde had had a previous edition made for him abroad in 1507, and the remaining six editions were from foreign presses printed for the English market. Three at least of these are large folios, and specially intended, no doubt, for public use in churches.

3. The *Ordinale*, or *Directorium*; that is, the directory as to feasts and ceremonies, sometimes called the "Pye." Of this necessary volume only six editions are now recognised. Probably the earliest was printed at Antwerp in 1488, and was followed about the same time by the undated Caxton impression. Richard Pynson issued three quarto editions in 1498, 1503, and 1508; and Wynkyn de Worde published one in 1504. These are, no doubt, only the few chance survivals of a book which was intended for practical use, and would not be likely to have been preserved for the mere sake of its appearance. It was an ordinary practice to have this *Directorium*, or "Pye," chained to the stalls of a choir, so as to be always at hand for reference during the services.

4. Other church books were the *Psalterium*, the *Antiphonarium*, and the *Legenda*, which made up the entire Breviary. In the first were arranged the Psalms according to their use in the various offices; in the second were set forth the antiphons and the hymns, etc., which had to be sung; and in the third were the portions of Holy Scripture, the Homilies, and the lives of the Saints, appointed to be read on the various feasts of the Church. These church service books were apparently not printed

among the very early manuals for ecclesiastical purposes, or, at any rate, no early edition of them is known, except, perhaps, a *Psalterium cum Hymnis secundum usum Sarum et Eboracen.*, printed by Hopyl, at Paris, for William Bretton, in 1506, and sold in London at the sign of the Trinity. No doubt, in public churches the singers and people clung to the old manuscript copies of their great choir books, just as to the present day, for the same reason, many such large Antiphonals and Graduals are still in use in continental churches. At any rate, no copy of an English *Legenda*, etc., earlier than 1516 is now known to exist. The same may be said of the *Graduale*, or "Grayle," that is, the book which gave the portions of the Mass which the choir or congregation used to sing.

In regard to these service-books, it may be here not out of place to say a word about a class of printed books known as *Expositio Hymnorum* and *Expositio Sequentiarum*. Gough, in his *British Topography*, in giving a catalogue of church service-books, says: "The *Expositio Hymnorum* is a gloss or parsing of the hymns, reducing them to the meanest capacities, which was but too necessary." The fact that Gough classes these works with church service-books, and that he throws out the insinuation that the clergy of those days required some such book to let them understand what they read or sang, makes it necessary to remark that these works were not in any sense intended for the clergy. The *Expositio* was a mere school book, and drawn up with the design of teaching children the Latin language, and imparting religious knowledge at the same time.

5. The *Primer*, or, as it was frequently called, the *Horae*, was intended as a manual of private devotion, and it seems to have certainly been English in its origin. Like the Missal and the Breviary, a great many of our early printed editions of these *Horae* came from the foreign presses. Mr. Hoskins, in his monograph on the *Primer*, gives a list of thirty-seven editions of the book known to have been printed up to 1510. The two earliest of these were the Caxton editions published in 1478 and 1480. William de Machlinia printed a Primer on vellum in 1485, and William Caxton his second and third editions in 1490. In 1494 Wynkyn

de Worde issued no less than three editions of the *Horae* with variations; whilst five, if not six, impressions were published in 1503. Three of these came from the press of de Worde, one from that of Julian Notary, who had previously issued an edition in 1500, one from the press of Richard Pynson, and yet another, intended for the English market, was published by Antoine Vérard, of Paris. Pynson had previously produced two editions; the first in 1497, the second in 1500. Besides these, that well-known English merchant and lover of books, William Bretton, had two editions of the Primer printed for him in Paris; the first by Wolfgang Hopyl in 1506, and the second by Thielmann Kerver in 1510.

6. Finally, in this section, we may note two separate religious offices or services, both printed by Caxton, and both now known only by single examples. The first is the *Servitium de Visitatione B. Mariæ Virginis*, which was issued without date, but which, not improbably, was published in 1481 or 1482, in consequence of the order of Convocation, held under Archbishop Bouchier, in 1481, which directed the solemn keeping of the festival of the Visitation by the Church in England. The second is the *Servitium de Transfiguratione Ihesu Christi*, which has been conjecturally dated about 1491. Of much the same character is the *Commemoratio Lamentationis sive Compassionis beatæ Mariæ in Morte Filii*, produced also about 1491, and intended for devotional use on the Friday before Passion Sunday.

B.—*RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.*

I come now to the consideration of the general religious literature which was published by the early English printers. Here, for the sake of clearness, it is almost necessary to make several sub-divisions. The first of these I will call:—

I.—Works intended for the Instruction of Clerics.

In this, as, indeed, in the other sections, I will confine my attention to works produced only in England, or for the English market. Of course, it is obvious that printed books of all kinds, and especially theological and patristic works, found their way over to our Universities, to

the Cathedral libraries, and to the monastic establishments. Of this sufficient evidence exists, even if it were not obvious that such must have been the case; but this branch of our subject needs special investigation, which must of necessity be minute and tedious, and for my purpose it may be left on one side.

1. One of the first among the professional books for the instruction of clerics that I have noted is a volume on Sacred Eloquence. It is called *Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Savona Margarita Eloquentiæ*, and as a folio volume it was printed by Caxton in 1479–80. William of Savona was a friar who had studied at Cambridge, amongst other European Universities, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the *Margarita Eloquentiæ* had been adapted to the use of would-be preachers in 1478. Curiously enough the printer-schoolmaster of St. Albans was likewise engaged upon producing this same work at this same time (1480). Two other books intended to teach preachers the art of sacred eloquence were issued subsequently, both in 1510—one, the *Sermones Michaëlis de Ungaria*, was printed in London, and the other, the well-known tract of Robert Holcot, was printed in Paris. Of this latter a second edition, by Petit, was also printed in Paris in 1513.

2. Very early in the era of printing, John Lettou, of London, produced three books at the expense of one William Wilcock. The first in order was a folio, printed in 1480, upon the Twelve Books of Metaphysics; the second was a Commentary on the Psalms, by Wallensis, the Franciscan, called *Valentius super Psalterium*, which was also published in 1480; and the third, likewise a book of *Expositiones super Psalterium*, was issued the following year.

3. Theodoric Roode, of Cologne, the earliest Oxford printer, is naturally found to be among the first publishers of books intended for the training of the clergy. In 1479 he issued the Ethics of Aristotle with the interpretation of Leonardo Aretino. About the same time (1468 for 1478) this press produced the *Expositio S. Jeronomi in Symbolum Apostolorum.* Then, in 1481, Roode published Alexander of Hayles on the *De Anima* of

Aristotle, and the following year an *Expositio* by an Englishman (John Lathbury) on the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Probably about the year 1483, a book called *Explanationes super lectiones beati Job*, by Richard Rolle, of Hampole, was printed by him.

4. A Psalter, for reading and study, as distinguished from the Psalms intended for recitation or singing in the church, was first published by Caxton, in quarto, some time between 1480 and 1483. Wynkyn de Worde printed a similar book on 20th May, 1499, and again in 1502, to which second edition was added the Church hymns. In 1504 this Psalter was printed in London, by Faques, in duodecimo, by order of King Henry VII, and reprinted in 1506 by Richard Pynson.

5. In respect to the teaching of Church, or Canon law, the work of the canonist Lyndwoode was, of course, in great request. Rood, or Rood and Hunte printed the *Constitutiones Provinciales* in 1483, at Oxford; Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster, in 1496 and 1499; Richard Pynson in 1499, and, again, a second time at an uncertain date. In 1505 Wolfgang Hopyl printed another edition for William Bretton, adding to it in 1506 (as Pynson had done in his undated issue) a Commentary of John Athon, or Acton, *super Constitutiones Othonis et Othoboni*, the two papal legates upon whose Constitutions, issued in the reign of Henry III, was founded most of our English canon law. Acton's Commentaries were considered indispensable, and were frequently, as in the above cases, to be found in the editions of Lyndwoode's work.

6. Of miscellaneous tracts, intended for the education of the clergy, I note the *Textus cum sententiis* of Alexander de Villa Dei, printed by Pynson in 1505 and again in 1510. In 1508 the same printer published the Theological Tractates, or *Principia* of Friar Peregrinis de Lugo. The treatise was intended to serve as an introduction to the method of Scotus. The work was prepared, we learn, "by the upright and prudent youth, Hugh Meslier," and printed for sale at Oxford, at the expense of George Castellani, then living "at the sign of St. John, in the street of the Immaculate Virgin," where the volume was to be sold. Lastly, in 1510,

Richard Pynson printed a treatise upon the doctrine of the Trinity, which had been written by Archbishop Peckham in the thirteenth century, and entitled *Summa de Trinitate.*

II.—Helps to Priests in their Parochial Duties.

Closely allied to works intended to further clerical professional studies is the class of books intended to help priests in their parochial duties.

1. In this section we may place first the very well known volume called the *Liber Festivalis*, or *The Festial.* The author of this most popular book of instruction for the festivals of the Christian year was John Mirk, an Augustinian canon of Lilleshull. His name is best known perhaps in connection with his tract entitled *Instructions for Parish Priests*, first printed some years ago by the Early English Text Society. The sermons in the *Festial* are short and to the point, although no doubt many in these days will consider some of the stories—introduced according to the practice of that more simple age—both silly and out of place. The work, as first printed by Caxton in 1483, although founded on Mirk's collection of Sermons, is not by any means identical with it; and even the Oxford edition of 1486, which was followed in all subsequent impressions—though more strictly following the manuscript copies—still differs from them in many ways.

The object of the *Liber Festivalis* was to furnish material for the ordinary Sunday discourses, and for the homely talks which the priest was supposed to have regularly with his parishioners. It gives sermons for nineteen Sundays, commencing with the first Sunday of Advent and ending with Corpus Christi day. The absence of discourses for the Sundays during the summer months and during the autumn perhaps points to a kind consideration being extended to the congregation during the heat and the harvest-time. These Sunday sermons, or prones, are followed by discourses for forty-three of the chief holy days and Saints' days, and one sermon suited for the anniversary of the Dedication of a parish church. No book, except, perhaps, the Prymer, was so popular in the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries as the *Liber Festivalis*, if popularity is to be gauged by the editions that were called for. Caxton printed the book twice in 1483, and, again, a third time (following the Oxford edition of 1486), in 1491; Pynson printed four editions, two in 1493, in which the variants are interesting as showing cancels for the insertion of new feasts, the third in 1499, and the fourth in 1502. Wynkyn de Worde also issued four editions, namely, in 1493–4, in 1496, in 1499, and in 1532. One edition was printed at Rouen, and two in Paris; and in all there were no less than fifteen different issues of this work. In one year (1499) four editions appeared, three in London from the presses of Pynson, De Worde, and Julian Notary, and the fourth in Paris, from that of Morin.

2. Closely allied with this *Liber Festivalis*, so closely, indeed, that in the opinion of many it forms but one work, is the book called *Quatuor Sermones*. These discourses contain short doctrinal expositions of the whole Christian religion, both as to faith and practice, and were intended to be read by the priest to the people at certain specified times of the year, so as to comply with the English Synodical injunctions. These Sermones, the Sentence of Commination, and two forms of Bidding Prayers, which accompany them, are generally found together with copies of the *Festial*, but not invariably. Even so, they are always printed as a separate work with distinct signatures. The copies of the *Quatuor Sermones* and the *Liber Festivalis* which I have been able to examine, show evidence of use, and the erasure of the word "Pope" and of the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury point to the fact of their having been diligently corrected during the reign of Henry VIII. One interesting fact about the impressions of the *Quatuor Sermones*, as well as those of the *Liber Festivalis*, is that they were mostly reproduced page by page and almost line by line, so that exact reference can be made to the page, and even to the line, in most of the editions after 1486.

3. As a book of practical pastoral theology, the work known as the *Manipulus Curatorum* had a considerable vogue in the fifteenth century, prior to the era of printing. It was written by Guido de Monte Rocherii, and a note in the translated version says: "This ought the prestes to

lerne and teche to theyr parysshens," for it is "profitable to all Xtian men." Six printed editions of the work in Latin were published: in 1500 and 1509 by Pynson; in 1502, 1506, and 1509, by Wynkyn de Worde; and in 1508 by Julian Notary. In its English form of *The Doctrinal of Sapience* it had already been printed by Caxton in 1489. Its author, an Archbishop of Sens, on the first appearance of the *Manipulus* in manuscript, had employed someone to translate it into French, under the title of *Livre de Sapience.* It was from this version that Caxton produced his translation into English under the title of *The Doctrinal of Sapience*, of which nine copies were known to Blades.

4. To serve the same purpose as the foregoing—that is, as the preface of one of them tells us—to enable curates "having the cure of soule" to explain the articles of the Faith, etc., to their people, as they were bound to do by the Provincial Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham—the following works were printed: the *Exornatorium Curatorum*, printed by Julian Notary, by Wynkyn de Worde, and later by Pepwell; the *Instructions for Priests*, issued by De Worde; the *Stella clericorum*, by Pynson; and later, in 1532, the *Cura Clericalis*, by De Worde, a copy of which is possessed by Mr. Gordon Duff.

5. The *Pupilla oculi*, written by John de Burgo, Rector of Collingham, in 1385, must be accounted as among the most popular manuals of instruction during the fifteenth century. The number of existing manuscripts alone will testify to its popularity, which is also proved by the numerous bequests of the volume to be found in the wills of that period. The *Pupilla oculi*, however, was apparently not printed till 1510, when it was one of the books produced by Wolfgang Hopyl, in Paris, for William Bretton, and sold by Henry Pepwell, in London. It was reprinted in Strasburg in 1516–17.

6. *Poeniteas cito*, a practical work on the Sacrament of Confession, was printed for the first time by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510. It was, however, well known previously in copies printed abroad, as Quentell had

issued no less than six editions from his Cologne press—namely, in 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494–5, 1495, and 1500. De Worde published a second edition of this useful manual for clerics in 1520.

A book somewhat similar to this, which was well known in its manuscript form, was the *De Oculo Morali*, composed by Bishop Grosseteste. Apparently, it was not printed in England, but about 1480 it was published by Sorg at Augsburg as a book by Archbishop Peckham, or "Johannes Pithsanus," as he is called in the title.

7. Of manuals of advice to the clergy on the direction of their own personal lives and studies, we have the *Sermo exhortatorius Cancellarii Eboracensis*, a most excellent treatise, addressed probably by William de Melton, Chancellor of York, to those who were preparing for sacred orders. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494 (?). We have also the *Gallicantus* of Bishop John Alcock, of Ely, addressed to his brethren having the cure of souls, assembled in the Synod of Barnewell. This was printed by Richard Pynson in 1498.

III.—Moral Instruction of Youth.

The care taken by our forefathers to instruct children in religious and moral observances is shown by the number of books that have come down to us.

1. I have already referred to the *Expositiones* of Hymns and Sequences, wrongly supposed by Gough to have been intended for teaching the clergy their meaning. In reality, of course, as already pointed out, they were designed to teach children religion and Latin conjointly. Thus, the *Expositio Hymnorum* is obviously a school book pure and simple, but drawn up with the object of imparting, together with the language, the religious knowledge contained in the Church hymns. The first edition of the Sarum Hymns was made in Flanders in 1487, and this was followed by a Paris edition in 1494. Richard Pynson produced the first three English impressions, two in 1497 (one a folio and the other a quarto), and the third in the following year, 1498. Altogether, by 1510, some twenty editions of the

book had been issued, and it was reprinted several times afterwards. The *Expositio Sequentiarum*, that is, of the Proses of the Missal, was not in such demand, or did not, apparently, meet with such a large sale. It was first printed in 1497, probably by Pynson, to accompany his edition of the *Expositio Hymnorum*, and in 1498 he certainly produced a folio edition. Wynkyn de Worde published three editions; and, in all, nine impressions of the *Expositio Sequentiarum* are now known. An edition, printed by De Worde in 1509, has a prefatory letter addressed to the youth of Great Britain by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, to encourage them in the task of learning Latin, and understanding the doctrinal teaching of the Church hymns and proses. Like all school books, and other works plentiful and in common use, these volumes are now rare, and it may safely be assumed that many editions have perished altogether, since, according to what may be called the bibliographer's paradox, the more common and ordinary the book the less likely is it to be preserved to posterity.

2. Of a somewhat different kind, but intended for a similar purpose, is the volume called *The dictes and sayings of the Philosophers*, a work read in French by Lord Rivers while on a journey to Compostella in 1473, and which he set about translating on his return. The Earl had requested Caxton to "oversee" the translation and to publish it, which was done in 1477. About 1480 the same great English printer issued a second edition, and yet a third about 1490. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted *The Dictes* in 1528. *The Moral proverbs of Christyne*, written by Christina of Pisa, for the education of her son, was a work of the same character, and was likewise another of the books translated by Earl Rivers. It was printed by Caxton in 1478. And lastly in this connection, must be named *The Book which the Knight of the Tower made for the enseygnement and teaching of his daughter*. It was translated from the French of Geoffroy de la Tour, and published by Caxton in 1484. Caxton advises all people having children to educate virtuously to get it and to use it.

3. A third set of books, which come under the general heading of works intended for the moral instruction of youth, comprises *The Book of*

Courtesy, by Lydgate, printed by William Caxton before 1479, and again in 1491, and *The Book of Good Manners*. This latter volume was written by an Augustinian Friar of Toledo, named Jacques Legrand, who was Confessor to Charles VII. Caxton, who printed the translation in 1487, tells us that he undertook the task of publishing it at the desire of William Pratt, a "mercer," and "an honest man," who made the request upon his death-bed, to secure that a book which had been of such profit to him might be widely spread by the aid of printing. A work of much the same character was the *Stans puer ad mensam*, which consisted mainly of moral distichs, and of explanations of certain prayers. This, too, was printed by Caxton some time before 1479.

4. In close connection with the above works is the volume entitled *Parvus et Magnus Catho*. From the earliest times this book was used to teach the Latin language to children, and at the same time to inculcate moral truths. The work was translated out of Latin into English, as Caxton tells us, "by Master Benet Burgh, for the erudition of my Lord Boucher, son and heir at that time to my Lord, the Earl of Essex." It was first printed by Caxton some time before 1479, for in that year appeared his second edition. He again printed it about 1481, and in 1484, a fourth time, with additions translated from the French.

IV.—Lives of Saints.

In all ages up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the lives of Christian heroes, and of those renowned in any way as the special servants of God, were allowed to exercise a great influence on the minds of all. No book was more popular in this regard than Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, or, as it was known in its English version, *The Golden Legend*. It has been lately pointed out that those who would understand it must remember that "the atmosphere" in which the author of the Legend lived and wrote was wholly different to our own, and that though he was reputed "one of the most learned men of his day," his point of view "is separated *toto coelo* from the mental standpoint of the twentieth century." Still, a

knowledge of this work is absolutely essential "to anyone who would realise the character of European literature." *The Golden Legend* was first printed by Caxton in 1483 or 1484, and his edition was arranged by him from English, French, and Latin copies of the work. Both this and his second edition of 1487 are in size the largest folio. In 1493 there appeared a third edition bearing Caxton's name; but this posthumous work was really issued by Wynkyn de Worde, who also printed editions in 1498 and, later than my limit, in 1512 and 1527. Yet another early edition came from the press of Julian Notary.

2. One of the most magnificent of all Wynkyn de Worde's productions is undoubtedly the folio *Vitas Patrum*. These Lives of the "Fathers of the desert," he tells us, had been translated into English from the French version by Caxton, "late dead," and they were published by his successors in 1495, in a volume consisting of 347 leaves, besides the table in double columns. This great work has also numerous wood-cuts.

3. Another most popular book, both in the age of manuscripts and in the early days of printing, was the *Speculum Vitae Christi*, or the *Mirrour of the blessyd Life of Christ*. The book, in its English version, was founded upon the work of St. Bonaventure, and it practically gives the whole Gospel story in the form of a series of meditations, each meditation or reflection consisting of several chapters, arranged for each of the days of the week. Very often the actual words of the Holy Scriptures are made use of, and it would seem to be quite certain that anyone who really made use of this book could not fail to have a full and most excellent knowledge of the Gospel story. The printed editions of the work issued by Caxton in 1488 have been considered as based upon the French translation of Jean de Gallopes. This De Gallopes was chaplain to the Regent Bedford, and his translation of the work was dedicated to our King Henry V. Caxton, in his Preface, however, tells his readers that he has been careful to mark any passages that have been inserted in the translation by a letter A or N, placed in the margin of the volume. As this warning, in exactly the same terms, is found in the manuscript translation of the *Speculum* in MS.

Arundel 112, and as likewise a further notice, printed by Caxton, giving the history of the book, is also obviously taken from the same manuscript, it is more than probable that this was the actual translation of the work relied upon, especially as the print almost verbally reproduces the manuscript. According to this historical notice of the work, the compiler of the English version presented it in 1410 to Archbishop Arundel, to be read and examined with a view to circulating it generally among the people. After due examination it was approved by the Archbishop, and praised by him most highly. Further, the Archbishop ordered, by his Metropolitan authority, that the book should be recommended as Catholic, and as tending to the edification of the faithful and to the confusion of the Lollards.

Caxton's print also followed the Arundel MS. 112 in printing, at the end of *The Mirroure* proper, a *treatise on the Blessed Sacrament*, and *a short devoute prayer to Ihesu Crist and hys blessyd bodye in the Sacrament*, which do not appear in the French version. Besides the first edition of 1488, on vellum, Caxton issued a second edition in 1490 (?), which reproduced the first, line for line, and almost letter for letter. The book was also published by De Worde, in folio, in 1494; by Pynson, in 1495; and by De Worde, a second and third time, in 1517 and 1525.

4. A work on the Infancy of our Lord—*Infantia Salvatoris*, was also issued by Caxton about 1478.

5. About 1484 Caxton printed Lydgate's *Life of our Lady*, which, as he tells us, the poet made for "Kyng Harry the fythe, in thonoure, glorye and reverence of the byrthe of our most blessyd Lady, mayde, wyf, and moder of our lord Ihesu Cryst." Three other books may be also named here under this heading: *The Life of Saint Francis*, by Richard Pynson, without date; *The Life of St. Katherine*, and *The Revelation of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, from Raymond de Vineis, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1493; and *The Life of the Holy and Blessed Virgin St. Winifred*, "reduced in to Englysche by me William Caxton," about 1485.

V.—De Quatuor Novissimis.

Our forefathers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were accustomed to live much more in the presence of the future life than we of the twentieth are, perhaps, wont to do. To them "the resurrection of the body and life everlasting" were something more than mere formularies of a creed they were called upon to say; they were living truths and ever-present realities. This is amply evidenced in the literature of those times. In manuscripts, and as early printed books, treatises *De Quatuor Novissimis*, or the "Four last things," as they are called, are very frequently found. Among printed books, for example, there are:—

1. The *Ars Moriendi: that is to say, the craft for to die for the health of man's soul*, a quarto volume, probably translated from the Latin by Caxton. The original version, however, is not known, and the volume is without date or name of printer; but it was issued, in all probability, by Caxton about 1491. About the same time the same printer issued *A lityll treatise abredged of the arte and crafte to know well to dye*, translated "oute of Frenshe into Englysshe" by himself, June 15, 1490. One of the printers of the original French version of this tract was Colard Mansion, and Caxton may have used his text. It is divided into six parts, the last being devoted to a collection of prayers to be used for the sick man at the hour of death. This work was republished by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496, and again in 1506. Between these two dates, namely, in 1503, Antoine Vérard published in a folio form the unabridged work with about one hundred and fifty wood-cuts which had already been used in his French edition, while on 21 January, 1505, De Worde printed a new translation by Andrew Chertsey with imitations of the French cuts. In 1506 the same printer issued an abridgment of this edition, and subsequently he twice republished the last and abridged edition. Richard Pynson also printed the same treatise, "short and abrydged."

2. Of much the same character was a book called *The Cordyal*, printed by Caxton in 1479. Its object, as Caxton tells us in his preface, was to

set forth "the four last things" in such a way "that they may be emprinted with in your hertes. Therefore it is consonant and accordyng, yf it so may please that this present trattye may be entitled and bere the name of the *Cordyal.*" It is purely a religious book, full of quotations from Scripture and the Fathers, with reflections tending to prepare the soul for its passage to another and everlasting life. The work was translated "out of Frensh into our maternal tongue" by Earl Rivers, "which book was delivered to me, William Caxton, by my said noble lord Ryviers, on the day of the Purification of our blessid ladye, falling the Tuesday the Second day of the month of Feverer, in the yere of our Lord M.ccccLxxviii, for to be emprinted and so multiplied and go abroad among the people that thereby more surely might be remembered the four last things undoubtably comyng." The book itself is interesting, from a bibliographical point of view, as furnishing some indication of the time occupied in the actual process of printing. We learn from Caxton's note that it was begun on February 3rd, "and finished the even of the annunciation of our blessid lady, falling on Wednesday the 24th day of March." This shows that the work took just seven weeks to set up and print off.

3. Other works, dealing with the necessary preparation for death, are: *Les Quatre derniers choses*, the only work issued in French by Caxton, and probably printed by him at Bruges, about 1475, whilst working under Colard Mansion. Certain indications in the printing, such as the black and the red having been printed off at the same time, are considered by Mr. Blades to show that Caxton was then reproducing Colard Mansion's method of printing. In 1496 Wynkyn de Worde printed an English tract on the same subject under the title of *Memorare Novissima;* and of the same kind, but confined to the subject of the Last Judgment, is the little tract called *The XV tokens of the daye off Dome*, printed by Jan van Doesborch, at Antwerp, in 1505. *The Dayly exercyse and experience of dethe*, though written in the early part of the sixteenth century by Richard Whytforde for the "Dame Elizabeth Gybs, the Abbess of Syon," does not come strictly within the present period, as it was only published by John

Wayland in 1537. The same must be said of *The deyenge Creature*, printed by De Worde in 1514. There is said to be a copy of another edition of this in the Bodleian Library, also by De Worde, but without date.

4. To these tracts on "The Four Last Things" we may add the unique folio broadside of Death-bed prayers in the Rylands Library, which were printed by Caxton probably about the year 1483; and *The art of good lyvyng & good deying*. This last, although treating mainly of the duties of Christians in this life, does so as being the proper and best preparation for the life to come. It is a folio volume, printed in Paris by Antoine Vérard on 30th May, 1503, and it is illustrated throughout with most beautiful wood-cuts. At the beginning is a devout exposition of the Lord's Prayer; the Creed (every article being illustrated with wood-cuts), the Ten Commandments, etc.

VI.—The Higher Spiritual Life.

As we might expect, a large number of early printed books deal with what is technically known as "the Higher life," or the religious life in the cloister. We may here briefly indicate what these are. As first, may be put:

1. *The Mons Perfectionis*, or *The Hille of Perfection*, "written by Dr. John Alcock, bishop of Ely and emprynted at the instance of the reverend religyous fader Thomas Prior of the house of St. Anne of the order of the Charter house," at Coventry. The work was issued by Wynkyn de Worde, and also by Richard Pynson, the same year, 1497, and it was reprinted by the former in 1501. Bishop Alcock also composed another tract on the religious life, which in manuscript was most popular in the fifteenth century. The author was successively Bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and Ely, and died "with the reputation of a saint" in 1500. Four or five manuscripts of the work are in the British Museum, and it was printed by De Worde in 1500.

2. *The Scala Perfectionis*, or *The Ladder of Perfection*, by Walter Hilton, was one of the best known English spiritual works at this period.

It was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494, and some verses at the end of the edition show that it was undertaken at the instance of the Lady Margaret of Richmond, the pious mother of Henry VII. The book was subsequently reprinted by De Worde in 1525 and 1532, whilst Julian Notary published an edition of it in 1507.

3. *The Contemplacyons of the drede and love of God*, by Richard Rolle of Hampole, which treats of the steps, or stages, by which to arrive at the highest love of God, was printed in 1506 by De Worde. In 1510 Richard Rolle's tract, *De Emendatione Vitae*, was published at Paris, by Hopyl, for William Bretton, in a small folio with double columns. This book forms, with another tract called the *Speculum Spiritualium* printed along with it, a most excellent and full treatise on the higher Christian life. It treats both of the active and the contemplative states in 208 closely printed pages, and at the end it has a collection of most excellent prayers, one of which is printed in what is supposed to be English.

4. The tract called *The remedy agenste the troubles of temptacions* is a small book, printed first in 1508–9 by De Worde. It was, as we are told at the end, intended chiefly for "ye chyldren of holy chyrche that hath forsaken the worlde for the helth of your souls & pryncypally to please God." With this tract is printed also "A devoute medytacyon in sayenge devoutely ye psalter of our Lady wt dyvers ensamples."

5. In this section mention must be made of Caxton's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, translated from the French, with additions, in 1483. Guillaume de Deguilleville moralised the *Roman de la Rose*, and a MS. copy of the moralised version is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22,937). Deguilleville turned the *Roman de la Rose* into an account of the journey to the next world and trial of the soul after death. This poetical version was put into French prose by Jean de Gallopes, before named, under the title of *Pelerinage de l'ame*. In 1508 Richard Pynson published a reprint of Caxton's English translation under the title *Peregrinatio Humani generis*.

6. In 1490 Caxton published a book, entitled *A Book of divers Ghostly matters*, which contained three tracts: (*a*) *The seven points of true*

love and everlasting wisdom, or the *Orologium Sapientiae*, by the Dominican Suso, put into English and intended to guide souls in the higher paths of the Christian life; (*b*) *Twelve profits of tribulation*; and (*c*) *The Rule of St. Benet*, which Caxton tells us he here printed "by desire of certain worshipful persons." About the same time, probably in 1491, Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde as his successor issued a tract called *The Chastising of God's children*, "a short pistle" addressed by an unknown writer to a nun on the best way to deal with temptations.

7. Other works of a character similar to the above are: *An exhortacyon made to religyous systers in the time of their consecration*, by Bp. Alcock, and printed by De Worde; *The Medytacyons of St. Bernard*, translated "by a devoute student of Cambridge," and printed by the same in 1496 (this was re-issued in 1525); and certain books without date, possibly somewhat later than our period, such as *The Revelations of a monke in the Abbey of Evesham*, printed by William Machlinia; the *Complaint of the Soule*, published by De Worde; and *The Testament of John Lidgate, monke of Bury*, printed by Richard Pynson.

VII.—The Christian Life.

Of the sections into which the early printed religious literature is here divided that which naturally is found to contain the greatest number of works is that devoted to books teaching the true character of the life of the ordinary Christian. The very number of the tracts make it impossible to do much more than arrange and catalogue them. First, I would note:

1. The *Speculum Christiani*. This work was drawn up, as we learn from the preface of one of the manuscript copies in the British Museum, to enable priests to prepare the popular instructions which the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham ordered them to give regularly to their parishioners. It was one of the most popular books in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and its expressions almost became the stereotyped form of words in which to express the exact teaching of the dogmas of religion, and to remember the duties inculcated by the teaching authority of the Church.

Some ten or twelve copies of the work are in the manuscript collection at the Museum. It was supposed to be compiled by one John Watton in the fourteenth century, and to have been translated in the following century by a priest named John Byrd. It was first printed by Machlinia in 1480 at the expense of a London merchant, Henry Vrankenberg. It was afterwards published in 1500 and 1502, at Paris, by Pierre le Dru for Jean Petit, and in 1513 by Thomas Kees, and again in Paris in 1521. The last-named edition, and apparently the earliest, has a considerable number of short English verses, by which to help the people to remember what it was useful and necessary they should. For example:

"Thou schalt love Gode, wt herte entere
Wt all thi soul and thi myght
Oder God in no manere
Thou schalt not have be day ne nyght."

2. *Dives et Pauper* was also an extremely popular tract in the fifteenth century. It was in such general circulation that at one period the Lollards made use of it to insert points of their own teaching which they wished to disseminate. It deals in a plain and very straightforward way with the duties of Christians, its explanations on points of belief and practice, such as the honour shown to images and the like, are exceptionally clear, as also is its satisfactory treatment of the social duties of rich and poor. It is supposed to have been written by a Carmelite, of Doncaster, named Henry Parker, who died in 1470. It was printed by Richard Pynson, as one of the first of his dated books, in 1493. Another edition was issued by De Worde in 1496, and a third appeared in 1536, from the press of Berthelet. De Worde describes his print as "a compendyous treatyse, or dialogue of Dives and Pauper. That is to saye, the ryche and the poore fructuously treatyng upon the X comaundements."

3. *The Boke of Good Maners* was printed three times by Wynkyn de Worde, first in 1507, secondly at an uncertain date, and lastly in 1514. The tract was divided into five books, and dealt in a practical manner with the Christian virtues and their contrary vices: (1) with the duties of

"people of the Church," *i.e.*, ecclesiastics; (2) with those of princes and rulers; (3) and of those "of the commonality." The last book treated of death, as the common end of all alike.

4. *The Ordinarye of Crystyante, or Crystent men.* This was "newely hystoryed and translated out of Frenshe into Englysshe," and published by De Worde in 1506. The original was published at Paris, by Vérard, and was a most popular book in France. The work gives plain instructions as to what was to be held as belonging to the necessary faith of Christians. Most careful and practical instructions are given on all this, points of dogma, and duty. For instance, there is a long explanation of the Sacrament of Baptism, with an account of the ceremonies and prayers and their meaning; what the "most rude" person is bound to know is set forth in the plainest manner; and the utmost care is taken that no mistake should be possible as to what was intended and really meant by the teaching of the Church; as, for example, in regard to the reverence to be shown to images, and to the difference which must ever be made between the honour paid to God and to His Saints.

5. *The Royal Book; or, Book for a King.* The original of this tract, published by Caxton in 1488, was a French treatise, entitled *La somme des Vices et des Vertues*, or sometimes *La somme le roi; or, Le miroir du monde.* It was composed in the year 1278 for Philip of France by the Dominican Frere Lorens. From this book came the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, of Dom Michael, probably a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, which was completed "ine þe year of oure lhordes bering 1340." The meaning of the title, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, is "The again-biting of the inner wit, or Remorse of Conscience," a title similar to that of Richard Rolles' *Pricke of conscience*, composed about the same time.

6. *The Curial* was a translation, made, we are told, "for a noble and Virtuouse Erle," probably Earl Rivers. The original was written by Alain Chartier about 1400, "to hys brother whyche desired to come dwelle in court in whyche he reherseth many myseryes and wretchydnesses."

The copy of Caxton's edition (c. 1484) in the Museum collection is one of the two copies known to exist, the other being in the Rylands Library.

7. *The Mirroure of Golde for the synfull Soul* was a book of meditation, translated out of Latin into French, and printed in Paris, "and now of late translatede oute of frenche into Englissh by the right excellent princesse Margarete, moder to our soverain lorde King Henry VII, and Countesse of Richmond." Two editions were published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1522, and a third in 1526.

8. *A ryght profytable treatyse.* An explanation "of the Pater noster, Ave and Credo in our moder tonge and many other prayers," printed by Wynkyn de Worde about 1500.

9. *The Boke of comforte agaynste all tribulacyons*, a tract on the Christian Virtue of patience and the profit to the soul to be gained in suffering, was printed by De Worde in 1505, in a quarto volume.

10. *Of Evil Tongues*, from the press of Julian Notary, 1510, in quarto.

11. *The Contemplatyon of Synners for every day in the week*, "a singular medytacyon," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 10th July, 1499, in a small quarto. The prologue informs us that the book was compiled and finished at the request of Richard (Fox), Bishop of Durham, Lord Privy Seal of England. The meditations are divided and arranged according to the days of the week, and are mainly composed of short sentences from Scripture, the Fathers, and pious reflections upon them leading up to some practical conclusion. The sentences are short, in order, as the book says, to remind the reader of the shortness of life. The tract is said to have been originally drawn up by Richard Bury, of "Philobiblon" fame.

12. Of books on the articles of the creed and commandments, the following were published in the early days of printing:

(*a*) *The Flour of the Commaundements of God*, issued in folio by De Worde in 1509 and 1510, and a third time in 1521. In this last edition the work is said to have been translated from the French; and the last folio (211 verso) has a wood-cut of a coat-of-arms, below which is a

waggon with *Chertesey* on the tilt, which probably shows that the translation was the work of the Andrew Chertsey who, in 1505, translated *The arte and crafte to know well to dye*, which was also printed by De Worde.

(*b*) *The articles of our Faith*, printed by Pynson.

(*c*) *The Four cardinal virtues*, "the Englysshe of Mancyne" (Mancinus). The tract consists of thirty-two alphabets of sentences on the virtues, "the four pryncipall vertues with a very pleserfull processe," followed by two pieces of advice from the translator how to translate from English into Latin, and *vice versâ*. The original Latin of the work had been printed in Paris in 1488, 1492, and 1496. The English translation is without date, but was printed in London, probably later than the limit of our period, and possibly as late as 1520. Another English edition was issued by Pynson in 1525.

13. *The imitacyon of our Savyour Cryst*, translated by W. Atkinson, and the fourth part from the French by Margaret, Countess of Richmond; published by Richard Pynson in 1502, again in 1503, and a third time in 1517.

Another edition of Atkinson's translation called *The Imytacion and followynge of Cryst*, was published by De Worde in 1502 and in 150– (?).

14. *On the Psalms*, the following appeared: (*a*) *The seven Penytencyall Psalms of David*, by Bishop Fisher, compiled at the exhortation of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and published twice by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1508 and in 1509, in quarto; also by Pynson in 1510, and by de Worde again in 1525 and 1529. (*b*) *Meditacyons sur les sept Pseaulmes penitenciaulx*, a translation of the original Latin of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, published by Caxton about 1478. (*c*) *Fruitful saynges of Davyd in the seven Penitential Psalms*, composed probably by Bp. Alcock, published by De Worde in 1509, in quarto; and by Pynson in 1505 and 1510.

15. Other works that may be named in this section are: (*a*) *The Rote or Myrrour of consolacyon and comforte*, a devout treatise, which places before the reader the twenty fruits "whiche cometh of trybulacyon well

taken," printed by De Worde in 1509, 1511, and 1530, in quarto; (*b*) *The courte of Sapience*, by Lydgate, published in folio by Caxton in 1480, and by De Worde, in quarto, in 1510; (*c*) *The Castle of labour wher in is Rychesses vertue and honour*, printed by De Worde in 1506; (*d*) *The Parliament of Devylles*, also by De Worde, in 1509; and (*e*) *The Remors of Conscyence*, by the same, in 1500.

16. The celebrated work of *Boethius de Consolatione*, so much used throughout the later middle ages, as Englished by Chaucer, was published by Caxton *ante* 1479.

17. *The Kalendar of Shepherdes* was published in Scotch at Paris, and was translated by Robert Copland from the French, and reprinted by Pynson in 1506. An English version was issued by De Worde in 1508. It is a book "with bits of folk law leavened all through with religious instruction."

VIII.—Sermons and Miscellaneous.

One division of the religious and devotional printed English literature alone remains to be dealt with—that which contains the sermons and miscellaneous items. A mere record will be sufficient in regard to these.

1. *A sermon preached long ago at Paul's Cross*, on Luke viii, verse 8, by Bishop Alcock, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1496), and by Richard Pynson.

2. *A mornynge Remembraunce had at the moneth mynde of the Noble Princess Margarete*, by Bp. Fisher. W. de Worde. (1509.)

3. *Sermon at the funeral of Kyng Henry VII*, by Bp. Fisher. W. de Worde. May, 1509.

4. *Sermo die lunae in Ebdomada Pasche.* R. Fitzjames. W. de Worde. N.D. (1495.) Quarto.

5. *Omelia Originis de B. Maria Magdalena*, printed *ante* 1510, in London, by William Faques.

Of the miscellaneous documents of religious literature in early print I have noted the following:

1. *Image of Pity*, a wood-cut with an indulgence below it. Caxton. 1489.

2. *The Fifteen Oes and other prayers*, printed by order of the Queen of Henry VII, Elizabeth, and of the Lady Margaret, 1491. W. Caxton. Unique copy in the British Museum.

3. *Indulgence Letters*, issued by Friar John Kendal, in 1480, for assistance for defending Rhodes. Printed both by Caxton and Lettou. 1480.

3. Similar indulgence to those assisting against the Turks, 1481 and 1489. Caxton.

4. A York Image of Pity, with indulgence.

5. *Nychodemus Gospell.* W. de Worde. 1509. (Other editions, 1511, 1512, 1518, 1532.)

6. *A little treatise of divers miracles shewed for the portion of Christ's blood in Hayles.* R. Pynson. Quarto. N.D.

In concluding this very rapid survey of printed religious literature in England to A.D. 1510, it is necessary to say a word of apology for the by no means adequate treatment of a very large subject. Many books that should find a place have doubtless been left out, and errors as to the descriptions and dates of others have very likely found their way into this hasty synthesis. Its purpose, however, has been merely to present a general view of the religious and devotional literature, although the subject has really proved too vast for a single paper, and I fear that I have succeeded in presenting little more than a skeleton in the place of what should and might be a living reality.

SOME EARLY GUIDE-BOOKS.

By G. F. BARWICK.

Read 21st March, 1904.

FOR the purposes of this paper a guide-book may be defined as a book which supplies the place of a guide, namely, of a courier for extended travel, or of a cicerone for a locality. This definition enables us to differentiate between guide-books and books of travel; for, although the latter—especially when dealing with places that are easily accessible—tend to develop into guide-books, there is in general a broad line of demarcation, and about as much difference as between a cookery book and a description of a dinner. The traveller mostly records the experiences of a special journey, often made under exceptional circumstances, and his work is usually interesting in proportion to the dangers and difficulties encountered. In fact, the early travellers frequently discouraged would-be imitators by putting a lion in every path and a dragon round every corner.

The earliest form of guide-book was, of course, the Itinerary, which merely indicated the route from place to place. Itineraries are very numerous, but are so uniform in character that we may dismiss them with the remark that they date from Roman times, and that the *Itineraria scripta* or *adnotata*, namely, road-books, and the *Itineraria picta*, or maps, played a great part in the Roman system of administration, both civil and military, as may be seen at length in the *Epitome* of Vegetius.

In this paper I propose to call attention to a few specimens of the more notable books that have been written in various languages for the

guidance of travellers: firstly, for travel generally, and especially on the continent of Europe; secondly, for visitors to particular countries, capitals, and smaller localities; and lastly, for pilgrims, whose guide-books, although first in chronological order, form a distinct class, complete in itself.

I.—Firstly, then, on General Travel.

In 1642 James Howell, Historiographer to Charles II, and author of the celebrated *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, published his *Instructions for Forraine Travell, shewing by what course and in what compass of Time one may take an exact survey of the Kingdoms and States of Christendome.* The book is an amusing farrago of moralisations and reflections, coupled with much sound advice and many practical suggestions. For instance, in speaking of a young nobleman travelling abroad, he says:

"As for expences he must make accompt that every servant he hath "will stand him in 50*l.* a piece per annum, and for his owne expences he "cannot allow himselfe lesse than 300*l.* I include herein all sorts of "exercises, his riding, dancing, fencing, the racket, coach hire with other "casuall charges, together with his apparell, which if it be fashionable, it "matters not how plaine it is, it being a ridiculous vanity to go gaudy in a "strange country, specially in France, it is as if one should light a candle "to the Sun. . . . .

"For privat gentlemen and cadets ther be divers Academies in Paris, "Colledge-like, where for 150 pistols a year, which come to about 110*l.* "sterling per annum of our money, one may be very well accomodated with "lodging and diet for himselfe and a man, and be taught to ride, to fence, "to manage armes, to dance, vault and ply the mathematiques."

In the course of his instructions for Spain he advises that:

"About the fall of the leafe it were not amiss to make a journey to "South Spaine to see Sevill and the Contratation House of the West Indies. ". . . . And if he be there on the arrivall of the Plate-Fleet, which "usually cometh about that time, he shall see such a grandeza that the

"Roman Monarchy in her highest flourish never had the like, nor the "Gran Signior at this day. . . . ."

It is evident that the tariff question was very much alive at that time, for he recommends the traveller to observe:

"What English commodities are there in greatest request, and what "proportion the market usually beareth, for in the commutative part of "Government and Mercantile affaires lieth the most usefull part of policy "'twixt countrey and countrey."

When pointing out the numerous differences between the French and Spaniards, he says:

"The one carrieth a combe and a looking glasse in his pocket, the "other a piece of bayes to wipe off the dust of his shooss: and the first "thing the one pawns, being in necessity, is his shirt, the other his cloak."

He also urges the value of careful observation, and speaking of the traveller who is merely conveyed from place to place, quaintly likens him to Jonah in the whale's belly, who "travelled much but saw little."

Howell also wrote a guide-book, in Spanish and English, now very rare, entitled *La Perambulacion de España y de Portugal; en un Discurso entre Carlos y Felipe. The Perambulation of Spain and Portugal: In a discourse 'twixt Charles and Philip: which may serve for a directory how to travel through those countreys.*

In 1651 Martin Zeiller, the compiler of a vast number of Itineraries, wrote a guide-book to form their complement. He entitled it *Fidus Achates; oder Getreuer Reisgefert*, and gives about sixty pages of excellent advice to travellers. This book, with its indications of routes across Europe, and its practical information, has been justly called "the first Baedeker in the German language."

In the eighteenth century the growing love of art objects, and especially of paintings, led to the desire to study them, and, where possible, acquire them. Consequently the grand tour, embracing a journey through France, Italy, Austria, and Germany, became the fashionable complement of a

liberal education, and travellers in search of the picturesque—of whom that ill-assorted couple, Gray and Walpole, were the pioneers—began to multiply. This naturally led to the demand for guide books to the Continent, and in 1800 that notable traveller, Mariana Starke, published her *Letters from Italy*, and followed up her success by publishing, in 1820, her *Travels on the Continent, written for the use and particular information of travellers*. This work had an enormous sale, and was speedily in the hands of all who made the tour of France and Southern Europe. The authoress was usually known as "Jack Starke," from her fancy for wearing as her ordinary dress a tall hat and riding habit. Her books were the result, for the most part, of her own travelling experiences, and contain full details of the means of locomotion and the expenses of lodgings and service, as well as directions for seeing everything then open to the public, or to which admission could be easily obtained. Her list of things to be provided with on leaving England is appalling, and occupies many pages; it ranges from a sofa-bed to a saddle, and from tea to opodeldoc, of course never omitting Dr. James' powder!

On her death her books became the property of the elder Murray (Byron's "John Murray"), and this leads me to say a few words about the commencement of Murray's Handbooks. It appears that John Murray the third was bitten in early youth with a strong desire to travel, and his indulgent father promised to gratify his wish provided that he mastered the language of the country in which he proposed to travel. In 1829, accordingly, he brushed up his Dutch and German, set foot on the Continent at Rotterdam, and the result was his *Handbook for Holland*, published in 1836. It is a curious fact that this equivalent of the German *Handbuch* was then for the first time naturalised in England. Of this we have a remarkable proof, for Sir Harris Nicolas, in the preface to his *Chronology of History*, published only three years earlier, 1833, says: "No labour has "been spared to render the volume what the Germans would term, and "which, if our language admitted of the expression, would have been the "fittest title for it: 'The Handbook of History.'"

II.—Among the more notable guides to particular places and countries the first to claim attention is the famous *Mirabilia Romæ*, the book of the marvels of Rome, which was the standard guide-book of the more learned visitors to Rome from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. It gives the legends connected with the foundation of Rome and with her chief monuments, and then, as it were, conducts the visitor round the city and points out the chief objects of interest. To the archæologist it supplies evidence about sites and buildings, while the ordinary traveller will be interested in the legends, often strange and sometimes beautiful, which enliven its rather ponderous lists of gates, arches, and ruins. It was compiled about the end of the twelfth century, and the number of manuscripts still existing attests its popularity. In 1475 it appeared in print, and as the guide to Pozzuoli, by Joannes Elysius, appeared in the same year, these two are the earliest printed guide books. The Pozzuoli book is entitled *Libellus de mirabilibus Civitatis Putheolorum et locorum vicinorum*, and was printed at Naples by Arnaldus de Bruxella. It is, of course, chiefly occupied with the baths and their various virtues, and the author quotes largely from the Latin poets, but it is chiefly interesting as an early printed book.

The next place of importance is naturally Paris, and a curious little guide book to that capital was printed about 1500, entitled, *Les rues et eglises de Paris, avec le despence qui si fait par chascun jour.* After a list of the streets in the various quarters follows a curious account of the daily supplies to Paris in beef (200 oxen), mutton (1,000 sheep), and so on, the most remarkable being wreathes, bouquets, and bunches of flowers for weddings, baptisms, and images in the churches, for the Parliament, Council Chambers, and Law Courts, and for fêtes and banquets, to the amount of at least 15,000 écus, an enormous sum in those days.

The author speaks of the vast quantity of sea fish, "fraiche, salée et puante," that comes into Paris, and ends with a number of the town cries in verse, and observes sarcastically that they sell plenty of "old steel and iron which was never made in Venice," so it is evident that old Italian

ironwork was a fashionable *objet* in Paris in the fifteenth century, and also that there was a *petit Birmingham* somewhere in the neighbourhood. The graphic way in which these quaint verses bring the life of old Paris before us may be seen in the following specimens:

The faggot sellers:

Après oirez sans nuls arrêts,
Parmy Paris plusieurs gens,
Portans et cryans les costeretz,
Ou il ne gaignent pas souvent.

The hot pie men:

Soit d'anciens ou jouvenceaulx
Parmy Paris crier oirez
Le jour, pastez chaulx, pastez chaulx
Dônt bien souvent n'en mangerez.

The packmen with their bundles ready to take down:

Puis vous oirez sans nuls debatz,
Parmy Paris aucuns lourdaulx,
Cryant hault et bas, hault et bas,
Baston au col et tous deschaux.

The equivalent of the English "buy-a-broom":

A Paris est crye mainte fois
Voire de gens de plat pays
Housseurs, housseurs, housseurs,
Lesquels ne sont pas de grant prix.

The herb women on their donkeys:

Puis verrez parmi les rues
Sur chevaux à longues oreilles
Paniers pleins d'herbes et de laitues
Et filles criant à ma belle oreille.

The earliest English guide to Paris appears to have been Galignani's *Picture of Paris*, 1814.

Travelling in Spain was equally popular among French and English in the seventeenth century, and in 1691 the Countess d'Aulnoy, so well known for her charming *Contes des Fées*, published an account of her travels in Spain, entitled, *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*. It was at once recognised by travellers as a guide book, and went through dozens of

editions, both in French and English, into which it was translated at once. It also appeared in German, Dutch, and Spanish. This lady and Mariana Stark, already mentioned, are the prototypes of the modern guide-book writer, and it is the ladies who have shown us how a guide-book should be written.

During the eighteenth century Lisbon was a favourite health resort for invalids (as in the notable instance of Henry Fielding), and as a result we have in 1800 the *Lisbon guide, containing directions to invalids who visit Lisbon, with a description of the city, etc. Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Churchyard.*

The packets left Falmouth on Saturdays, but the service was very irregular, and travellers are warned that they must be contented to amuse themselves as well as they can at Falmouth for a long time. The passage money was 18 guineas, four of which were paid to the officers of Government. "On what grounds is never explained," adds the writer. He says, "Soap, butter, potatoes, and fish sauce cannot be bought at Lisbon," and "though the Lisbon booksellers have all the French authors that find grace "in the eyes of the Inquisition, no modern publications, or English books, "are to be met with." "The excessive filth of the streets renders a carriage "absolutely necessary; there is no venturing out in the evening without the "risk of a pail being emptied on one's head." In a paragraph about religion the author remarks that "the Inquisition, like the vestiges of the "earthquake, excites terror only from the recollection of its former power."

The book is altogether bright and interesting, and brings the place before one's eyes by its vivid descriptions.

The first guide in Portuguese appears to be the *Guia de Viajantes, ou Roteiro de Lisboa pasa as cortes, e cidades principaes da Europa, Villas e lugares mais notaveis de Portugal, &c.*, published at Lisbon in 1807.

In speaking of guide-books to England we ought, perhaps, to begin with some that are really only descriptions and road-books. The earliest was the *Angliæ Notitia* of Edward Chamberlayne, 1668, of which more

than forty separate editions appeared. Chamberlayne was not content that his works should follow him, but took them with him as far as possible, by having copies wrapped in cerecloth and buried with him in the vaults in Chelsea Church. The first English road-book was the *Britannia* of John Ogilby, the King's Cosmographer, 1675. This handsome folio must have been rather an inconvenient travelling companion, and it was reduced to an octavo in subsequent editions. The main and cross roads are beautifully drawn by Hollar, with the bridges, houses, parks, villages, and towns, duly marked. The arrangement was thus a long ribbon of road with the objects of note indicated on either side, and sometimes illustrated by a small drawing. It is noteworthy that some of the early railway guides followed the same plan.

Early in the eighteenth century we have Brome's *Travels through England* performed in 1700, but not published until 1726, and Defoe's *Journeyings*, published in 1714. These books served as some kind of guide to travellers, for they entered more into detail than the road-books just mentioned.

In 1776 appeared the first real guide for travellers in Great Britain, namely, *Paterson's British Itinerary*, afterwards known as *Paterson's Road Book*. The first edition followed Ogilby's plan, and contained the familiar ribbons of roads, but in the eighteenth edition (1826) the engravings were replaced by maps and plans, and various particulars which make the work a real handbook, and it continued to be the trusty guide until 1840, when the iron road practically superseded the King's highway.

The earliest guide to London is *Le Guide de Londres pour les etrangers*, 1693, by F. Colsoni, professor of languages. It was published by the author himself, who appears to have kept a chocolate house. In the third edition he inserts some dialogues, in which he thus advertises himself: "The Chocolate House of Mr. Colsoni is very near. He keeps two good "billiard tables at his house. He himself shows everything to foreigners. "He speaks Italian, and understands German and Dutch. Let us then "buy his Guide, his Ladies Grammar, his Anglicum Vade-Mecum, and "other curiosities." Considering that the book was published only eight

years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the following extract from the Address to the Reader is not without interest: "If you are a "Roman Catholic you may perform your devotions at the houses of the "Ambassadors. If you do not know English, there are here more than "60,000 French Refugees, who will be very pleased to go with you when-"ever you wish: they have at least 20 churches, as well filled as any of the "English, in Spitalfields, Soho and several other places." Among many curious matters he tells how, on Queen Elizabeth's birthday, 17th November, the common people carried a figure of the Pope round the town, and then burnt it; and he highly praises the English custom of selling libraries and collections of pictures by auction. He gives a very curious and gruesome detail about the execution of traitors, which may be quoted in his own words:

"Quand on écartè le quelqu'un on expose ses membres sur les portes "de la ville, après que le bourreau les a fait bouillir, et qu'il en a tiré la "graisse qu'il vend bien cher." In another place (in the third edition) he mentions that the heads and members of Charnock, King, Keys, Friend, and Perkins, the Jacobite conspirators, had been recently affixed to the gates. They were executed in 1696.

The rapid increase of foreign travel in the eighteenth century, to which I have alluded, naturally caused a certain unrest among those who could not afford to go abroad, and hence arose the fashion of seeking health, rest, or diversion, in our sea-side towns, and so-called "inland watering places." Consequently, we find the *Tradesman's and Traveller's Pocket Companion; or the Bath and Bristol Guide*, 1750; the *Pocket Companion to Harrogate Spaw*, 1760; the *Margate Guide*, 1770; the *General Account of Tunbridge Wells*, 1771; and numbers of others, which would need a paper all to themselves, so I must pass on to Scotland.

From 1655 to 1798 I find only itineraries for Scotland, so there is evidently some truth in Pennant's remark, circa 1770, that Scotland was then as little known as Kamschatka. The Scots, however, came south, and the tourists went north, and so, in 1798, we have:

The Traveller's Guide; or, a topographical description of Scotland, and of the islands belonging to it. Printed for J. Fairbairn, Edinburgh.

This is an eminently practical book, and appears from the preface to be really the first of its class. It is arranged on the county and town principle, and incorporates a good deal of matter from the Statistical Account of Scotland. A curious quit-rent is mentioned under Kiltearn in Ross, paid by the family of Foulis, for the Forest of Llaish, namely, "a "snowball to His Majesty, on any day of the year when required."

It never rains but it pours, in Scotland and things Scottish, so accordingly we have the very next year, 1799, another guide to Scotland, entitled, *The Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, etc.* By the Hon. Mrs. Murray, of Kensington. The authoress thus describes her book in the Advertisement to the Reader:

"This guide points out to the traveller what is worth visiting in his "tour, with the distances from place to place; mentions the inns on the "road, whether good or bad; also what state the roads are in; and informs "him of those fit for a carriage, and those where it cannot go with safety."

The book is a very thorough guide, and both interesting and amusing; for the descriptions of the scenery are written with the pen of an enthusiast, and many a good anecdote enlivens the pages.

The following may be taken as a specimen:

"After the Battle of Prestonpans, Sir John Cope's carriage was "allotted to Robertson of Strowan as his share of the booty. In it were "found a number of rolls of brownish stuff which were concluded to be "valuable specifics for wounds, because they were carefully packed in a "soldier's carriage. These precious rolls were cried in the streets of "Perth, 'Wha'll buy Johnnie Cope's salve.' They were cakes of "chocolate."

Turning now to Ireland, we find a very early book, Woodhouse's *Guide for Strangers in the Kingdom of Ireland*, printed for J. Rothwell,

London, 1647; but it is merely a road-book giving the distances from place to place. The earliest general guide for Ireland is the *Post Chaise Companion, or Travellers Directory through Ireland*, first published by Fleming, of Dublin, about 1785. It was compiled by a certain R. Lewis, of whom I speak more fully in connection with his guide to Dublin. Modelled on Paterson's Road Book, the *Post Chaise Companion* makes a great advance on that work by adding descriptions and miscellaneous information, and it is altogether a most useful guide-book. It is interesting to note that Shelley, when he hurried off from Tanyrallt in 1813, purchased a copy of the third edition when he reached Dublin, and wrote his name, the year, and the route from Killarney to Waterford, on the back of the frontispiece. This copy is now in the British Museum. The first guide to Dublin, worthy the name, is *The Dublin Guide: or a description of the city of Dublin, and the most remarkable places within 15 miles. By R. Lewis, Corrector of the Press, Author of the Post Chaise Companion, Dublin.* Printed for the author at his Correcting Office, 22, Bride Street. This is a very amusing and outspoken book; it is arranged in dictionary form, and mixed up with the place-names, one finds such headings as Pawnbrokers, Penal Laws, Usquebaugh, and Whiskey. Of the pawnbrokers he observes: "These usurious pawnbrokers or pawnbroking usurers may now "cheat according to law. . . . . The Three Blue Balls tells bankrupt "thieves and highwaymen where to bring their spoils. Let then tradesmen "not despair though they repeatedly become bankrupts, for though their "cruel creditors are their foes the pawnbrokers will be their friends while "they have anything to pop."

He describes Usquebaugh as: "A compound distilled liquor or "cordial peculiar to Ireland. It is made by putting different kinds of "spices into the best French brandy. The Czar Peter the Great was so "fond of this cordial that he used to say, 'of all wines Irish wine is the "'best.'" Whiskey is described as: "A spirituous liquor, like many of "its makers and drinkers, better known than trusted. It is a most infernal "spirit, and so strong and fiery that even seven times its own weight of

"water can scarcely tame it; and even then it is so insidious that it often "knocks out the brains of its best friends."

Under Trade he says that he must "mention and reprobate a trade "that is exceedingly common in Dublin, that of becoming bankrupt. . . . "Our bankrupts set up new a few months after they have cheated the "public." The preface tells us that the MS. was in the hands of a bookseller from the 16th December, 1785, to the 21st April, 1787, when it was returned, and the bookseller refused to have any concern in it. We can hardly be surprised!

III.—The last branch of my subject is "Guide-Books for Pilgrims," and to illustrate it I have taken notes from guides to two places only, but they are the two most important, namely, The Holy Land and Compostella. Accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land were, of course, greatly used as guide-books, and were plagiarised with the utmost freedom. For instance, it is evident that Felix Fabri, the editor of Breydenbach, who is said to have accompanied him on his pilgrimage in 1480, used as a guide-book the *Wallfahrt und Reisen in das gelobte Land* of Hans Tucher, the Burgomaister of Nuremberg, who performed his journey in the previous year. There were always manuals of more or less value in circulation at Venice, from which any pilgrim who kept a journal could make extracts. One of the most interesting is the *Viazo da Venesia al sancto iherusalem, et al monte Sinai.* The first edition, printed at Bologna in 1500 by Justiniano da Rubiera, is a rare and beautiful thin folio, with a large number of fine wood-cuts, the work of Piero Ciza, an artist of whom nothing further appears to be known. The Guide-Book to Palestine, published in translation by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1894, is the most detailed and systematic of what may be called the Crusaders' Guide-Books. It is translated by Dr. Bernard from a Latin MS. of about the year 1350 in Trinity College, Dublin, and is mainly based on the account of the Holy Land given by Philippus Brusserius Savonensis. The colophon of the MS. reads: "Expliciunt peregrinationes totius terre sancte, s . m . p . de . m .," but no one has yet interpreted the meaning of these letters.

Nazareth is the starting point, and many a legend is woven round the objects described; for instance, among the less obvious ones: "In Nazareth "there is a little marble pillar which the Virgin embraced for fear of the "sudden vision of the angels," and, "In Nazareth there is a little fountain "from which the boy Jesus used to draw water."

Coming to Jerusalem and its environs, every place is naturally identified with scenes from the Saviour's life. This guide-book gives the distances, and also very frequently the direction of the place indicated.

One of the most interesting guide-books to the Holy Land is the *Informacion for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*, of which three editions are known. They were all printed by Wynkyn de Worde, the first about 1498, the second in 1515, and the last in 1524. The first, which is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, was reprinted, without preface, in 1824, for the Roxburghe Club, and again in 1893 by Mr. Gordon Duff, in facsimile, and this time with an excellent introduction giving full bibliographical details.

After some tables of distances, there is a section upon "Chaunges of money from England to Rome and to Venice." Here we read: "Take none englyshe gold with you from [*i.e.*, beyond] Bruges, for ye "shall lose in the change. And also for the most part of the way "they will not chaunge it." The English sovereign certainly runs much further now.

In the directions for the voyage travellers are advised to take three ten gallon barrels apiece, two of wine and one of water, and, amongst numerous other things, "a cage for half-a-dozen of hens and chickens." The author adds a warning, "Take good heed to your knives and other small "japes, for the Saracens will go talking by you and make good cheer, but "they will steal from you if they may."

The chief part of the book describes a tour made by forty-six pilgrims, proceeding by the "shippe of a merchant's of Venice, called John Moreson." The author describes day by day the places they stopped at, and the sights

they saw; and indicates the short pilgrimages to be made from Jerusalem as a centre, with a summary of the return journey as far as Ferrara. Very curious, too, are the short vocabularies, of English and Moorish and English and Greek, *i.e.*, the modern Greek of the day.

The book ends with a table of the Roman seasons of the Church, and an explanation of the signification of the various portions of a church; for instance, the stones are the christians, the windows the Holy Scriptures, the bells the preachers, etc.

About 1140 was compiled the *Liber de miraculis S. Jacobi*, a practical guide for pilgrims to Santiago. The portion containing the itinerary was published by Fita in 1882; it is interesting from many points of view, and a short Basque vocabulary it contains has been much discussed by Vinson and other philologists.

The headings of some of the chapters will best describe the book:

1. The routes (four in number).

2. The day's journey from place to place.

3. Names of towns on the route.

In this chapter it is observed of the village of Castrojeriz that in a neighbouring meadow the spears of those who fought for the glory of God were planted and budded forth; and of Triacastella, that the pilgrims are there given stone to carry to Castaniolla for making lime for the work of building St. Peter's.

6. The names of the rivers and streams, showing those that are salubrious and those that are harmful.

7. Of the names of the districts and characters of the people along the route. This is an entertaining chapter, and sums up the people and country of Poitou, Bordeaux, and Gascony; the Gascons are described as frivolous, boasters, scoffers, and drunkards, with filthy habits and scanty clothing, but their hospitality is commended. The author inveighs against the exorbitance of the sailors, especially near Sordes ("quorum nautæ penitus

damnantur" is the strong language of the original), and warns the pilgrims against falling into the water in getting into the wretched boats. "Often," he adds, "they take such a large number of pilgrims for money in advance "that the vessel founders and the pilgrims perish, whereat the sailors "iniquitously rejoice and divide the spoils." Of the Basques, he says that they levy double tribute on pilgrims, and that they eat like dogs and pigs, and speak like a dog barking.

8. Of the bodies of Saints which are to be visited. There is a large number of these, and their legends are duly given.

9. A description of the town of Compostella and Cathedral of Santiago, with its gates and altars, its relics and ornaments.

11. Warnings that pilgrims to Santiago are to be well received everywhere. The author cites instances of punishments that have befallen those who refused this duty. The most notable is the case of two pilgrims, "duo heroes Galli," who were returning from Santiago, where they had spent all their money, and reached Poitiers, where they begged in vain for lodging from the house of Joannes Gauterius to the Church of S. Porcarius, where at last a poor woman took them in. That night a fire broke out in the house which first denied them shelter and spread as far as the one where they were received. About a thousand buildings perished, but the poor woman's house remained unscathed. Wherefore, concludes the author, pilgrims to Santiago, whether rich or poor, are to be duly received and well looked after.

There are many other guide books for pilgrims to Santiago. Among them may be mentioned: Herman Kunig's *Die Strass zu Sant Jacob, in warheyt gans erfaren*, a curious little book with a quaint wood-cut on the title-page, printed by Jobst Gutknecht at Nuremberg in 1520; the Dutch itinerary, *De overen ende middelen Straten van Brunswygk tho Sunte Jakob in Galicien*, 1518, and the description in verse of the route from London to Santiago, Rome, and Jerusalem, printed in the second volume of *Purchas: His Pilgrimes*.

The route from France to Compostella still preserves its name of Camino Francés, or French Road, and a Spanish proverb preserves a saying directed by pilgrims against the innkeepers: "Camino Francés venden gato por res"—on the French Road they sell cat for meat.

It is interesting to note that the oldest English sea-ballad (of the time of Henry VIII) relates the adventures of pilgrims going to Santiago; it begins:

> Men may leave all games
> That sailen to Saint James
> For many a man it grames
> When they begin to sail.

In order to show how great the demand for guide books to Santiago was likely to be, a few words may be added concerning that shrine and the pilgrims to it. In or about the year 812, a hermit of Galicia, named Pelagius, went to Theodomer, Bishop of Iria, and said that he and others had seen a light as of a brilliant star casting its rays over a certain spot, from which strains of heavenly music proceeded. The Bishop thereupon ordered three days of fasting and prayer, and then went to seek the supposed treasure. A slight excavation of the earth brought to light a tomb containing three bodies in separate coffins, which were easily recognised as those of S. James and two of his disciples, Athanasius and Theodorus. Great was the enthusiasm in Spain, and, indeed, throughout Christendom, at the discovery; King Alfonso himself went to worship at the tomb, and built a chapel over it, which he endowed with many privileges. The neighbouring village, Iria flava, now became known as Campus Stellæ, the field of the star, afterwards corrupted to Compostella. Such myriads of pilgrims, clad more or less in white, thronged to the Shrine, that the popular imagination likened them to the stars in the Milky Way, which has ever since been commonly known in Spain as the Camino de Santiago, or S. James's Road. In England alone, during 1434 and 1435, about six thousand persons obtained the King's licence to make the pilgrimage to Compostella.

Returning from the shrine the pilgrims wore scallop shells in their hats and on their coats, and these shells were so peculiarly connected with Compostella that the Popes on several occasions granted faculties to the Archbishops of the Diocese to excommunicate those who sold them elsewhere. The present representatives of these scallop shells in England are the oyster shells which grubby urchins hold out for halfpence in the London Streets; the "grotto" they ask you to remember is the Shrine of Santiago, and these urchins are the direct successors of the grotto keepers of the middle ages, when, for the benefit of those who could not go to Compostella, small shrines were erected at convenient places where offerings might be deposited, and the aid of the warrior saint might be invoked.

EARLY PATTERN-BOOKS OF LACE, EMBROIDERY, AND NEEDLEWORK.

By EDWARD F. STRANGE.[1]

THE books which were produced by the generations immediately succeeding to that which saw the invention of printing, offer many chances of delight to the collector. He may specialise in typography alone; in book-illustration for its own sake; in sets of emblems or quaint conceits of a similar nature; and in all he will find much to inform and please him, much that has real beauty and intrinsic worth, to be valued far above those qualities of eccentricity or rarity, which lend a sporting element to the quest, and enhance prices to an extent inconceivable to the plain man considering not curiosities. But there are other classes of books possessing an importance beyond even any of these, and among them one may perhaps be allowed to place such as have an actual bearing on the arts or crafts of their time, or on the knowledge or occupations of its people. My concern lies with the former, and especially with those collections of patterns, of one sort or another, which the newly-discovered process of printing made so widely available during the sixteenth century. I have already had the pleasure of contributing to the *Transactions* of this Society some account of the beautiful series of books on Handwriting and Lettering which form a link so interesting

(1) Mr. Strange was prevented by illness from reading this paper before the Society on 17th March, 1902.—A. W. P.

in the history of popular education. Others are more of the nature of sets of patterns for the use of artisans—professional or amateur. And of this class, those devoted to Lace and Needlework are to constitute the subject of the present essay.

Into the history of the art there is no present need to examine. Indeed, the subject has been so exhaustively treated by Mrs. Bury Palliser and the editors of the last edition of her *History of Lace* (1902) as to leave little to be said, as far as present research has gone. We have only to consider the bibliographical side of the question, and to take it up at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the earliest known pattern-books begin to appear.

These are generally of small size, and produced, without elaboration of book-making, from an exclusively practical point of view. They rarely contain text other than a title-page, a dedication, and gratulatory epistles or verses; the main body of the volume consisting of patterns. As the process of using the latter generally involved pricking them through with a needle in the operation of transferring the pattern, very many must have been destroyed, and the survivors are few and too often fragmentary. The illustrations are always in simple unshaded black and white, for similar reasons of utility; and those of the earlier works were, as a rule, cut in soft metal in the same way as wood-blocks, by which latter name they have frequently been described by the makers of catalogues. Later, as with the writing-books, engraving on copper was largely used, and the size of the plate augmented. Indeed, the whole series is to be compared for technique with the writing-books above all others, and in one or two instances (*e.g.*, that of G. A. Tagliente) examples of both were produced by the same man.

But a word is needed as to the purpose of the patterns. For the most part they were made for private use, in days when skill with the needle was one of the most essential parts of the educational equipment of a woman of quality. At a time when travelling was both slow and dangerous, ladies stayed very much at home. As Mrs. Palliser points out: "The

"swampy state of the country, the absence of all roads—save those to be "traversed in the fine season by pack-horses—and the deficiency of all "suitable outdoor amusement but that of hawking, caused them to while "away their time within doors the best way they could. Not twenty years "since, in the more remote provinces of France, a lady who quitted her "house daily would be remarked on. '*Elle sort beaucoup*' folks would "say, as though she were guilty of dissipation." But there was one other accomplishment in which women of culture delighted, and the taste had its effect on the Lace-books. This was the making of verses of the formal sort, such as ballades, rondeaux, villanelles, and sonnets. So charming are these metrical prefaces, that perhaps one may be pardoned for quoting a few specimens at length. Thus the edition of Vinciolo, published by Jean le Clerc, *à Paris . . . . rue sainct Jean de Latran à la Salemandre*, 1613, has the following:

SONNET AUX DAMES ET DAMOYSELLES.

Esprits rarement beaux qui fuyez la paresse,
Je vous fais un present qui la pourra chasser,
Quand vous desirez de gayement passer
Vostre temps, et monstrer de vostre main l'adresse.

Le present est utile et plein de gentilesse,
Il monstre les moyens de bien entrelasser.
Et faire au point couppé tout ce qu'on peut penser.
Cet exercise plaist à Pallas la Deesse.

Par ses enseignements, avec l'esguille ou fait
Des fleurons, des oyseaux, en ouvrage parfait
Des chiffres et des nœuds, tels que l'amour desire.

Aymez cet exercise, et vous y occupez,
Et puis vous cognoistrez que sur les points couppez
En divers façons quelque portrait se tire.

Again, Dominicque Celle, in his pattern-book, printed at Lyons in the early part of the sixteenth century, gives a poem of nineteen lines on the first page, which is quoted in full by Mrs. Palliser. The copy, which she describes (p. 19), does not, however, seem to have contained the clever verses now transcribed from that in the library of the Kunstgewerbe Museum of Berlin.

BALADE FORMELLE.

Considerant le vouloir des humains
Au temps present qui est athalente
De comprendre y scauvoir des ars mains
Et sciences par curiosite
Le preuoyant ie me fuis incite
A composer ce liure tres vtile
Proufitable comme est recite
A toutes gens qui besongnent de leguille.

Au temps iadis du regne des Romains
Les gens estoient en grande auctorite
Pour les fassons qui fasoiēt de leurs mains
Et ouurages de bonne antiquité
La science et bonne subtilité
Est plaisante sus toutes entre mille
Proufitable comme iay recite
A toutes gens qui besongnent de leguille.

Les tissotiers ne sont pas inhumains
Pour contrefaire cette noualité
Et les brodeurs quasy ne plus ne moins
Lingeres ausy en bonne qualité
Pour euiter du tout oysiuete
Le livre cy est aux dames fertile.
Proufitable comme iay recite
A toutes gens qui besongnent de leguille.

Prince ie dis par vine auctorité
Qu'il est parfaict en fasson tres subtille
Proufitable comme iay recite
A toutes gens qui besongnent de leguille.

The setting of the first page of the last-named book merits a detailed description, as it is one of the best of the many interesting title-pages found in the Lace-books. The verses "Ce liure est plaisant," etc., are placed within a fine border. Above, in the crown of an arch, is a representation of the Almighty supporting the crucified Saviour, surrounded by angels, and with the inscription, SANCTA . TRINITAS . VNVS . DEUS . MISERERE . NOBIS; while without the arch are two kneeling angels. On either side, again, is a border of foliage; and below, a frieze with the Infant Jesus, sparrows on a perch, and Saints Mary and Joseph, with the inscription

JESUS-MARIA; as well as a cut, the subject of which is a young man and two maidens walking in a garden. On the next page is an initial P, a schoolmaster with a birch rod, and a scholar, followed by the Ballade, and the motto, "Mieulx que iamais."

Perhaps one may be permitted to quote yet a third set of verses from the Lyons book of "Pierre de Saincte Lucie, dict le Prince." It furnishes us with quaint and concise evidence of the extent of usefulness of these patterns.

Patrons de diverses manieres
Inventez tressubtilement
Duysans a Brodeurs et Lingieres
Et a ceusy lesquelsz vrayement
Veullent par bon entendement
User Dantique, et Roboesque,
Frise et Moderne proprement,
En comprenant aussi Moresque.
A tous massons, menuisiers, & verriers
Feront prouffit ces pourtraicts largement
Aux orpheures, et gentilz tapissiers
A iennes gens aussi semblablement
Oublier point ne veuly auscunement
Cõtre pointiers & les tailleurs dymages
Et tissotiers lesquelz pareillement
Par ces patrons acquerront heritages.

Pictorial title-pages are by no means the least attractive features of early Lace-books from an artistic point of view. Very often these give illustrations of women actually engaged in the various operations of lace-making and needlework. Thus, Egenolff's *Modelbuch* shows women spinning and making embroidery and lace in a garden, with a man coming in at the gate. P. Quentell's book has a fine border, with women working at both large and small embroidery frames, and others making pillow-lace. That of Christian Müller, of Strasburg, has two women with rolls of linen. *La Vera Perfettione* of Giovanni Ostaus (Venice, 1567), a particularly interesting cut, signed IOSE SAL (Guiseppe Porta), and dated 1557, of Tarquin watching Lucretia at work among her maidens. The edition of Vinciolo, published by Jean le Clerc at Paris in 1601, gives the various

tools used in the craft; and these are only a few examples chosen haphazard out of the many.

The earliest known Lace-book now appears to be that of Jörg Gastel, of Zwickau, *Ein New Modelbuch*, etc., 1525, a copy of which has recently been added to the collection in the Königliche Kunstgewerbe Bibliothek, Dresden. This furnishes the originals, of which six plates in the book of Pierre de Saincte Lucie, *Dict Le Prince*, successor to Claude Nourry, of Lyons (1530–1533), are copies. Its title-page shows it, however, to have had at least one earlier edition; and others followed in 1527 and 1529.

Next in order of date seems to come the publication of Peter Quentell, of Cologne, *Eyn new Kunstlich boich .... Gedruckt tzu Collen vp dem Doemhoff dwrch Peter Quentell. Anno MDXXVII.*[1] In the same year, and at the same town, appeared *Liure noveau et subtil touchant lart et sciẽce tant de brouderie fronssures, tapisseries .... En primere a culoge* [Cologne] *par matrepiere quinty deupre leglie de iii roies.* Then come two rare volumes, of which copies, said to be unique and hitherto undescribed, were offered for sale by Rosenthal, of Munich, a short time since (Nos. 1,235, 1,236): *Ein new Furm büchlein* (c. 1528–29, with 32 plates, said to be entirely original) and *Ein new getruckt model Büchli; auff nehen vnnd bortten wircken ynn der laden vnnd lanngenn gestell. Ganntz gerecht nach abteilung der Feden tzal.* (1529. Forty-five cuts of needlework and lace.) It appears, however, to be an edition of Gastel's book.

The earliest Italian book of which a record exists is A. Paganino's *De Rechami* . . . (Venice, 1527). Then comes an edition dated 1528 (noted by Brunet and Merli), of Giovanni Antonio Taglienti's *Opera nuova che insegna a le Dõne a cuscire*, the edition of 1530 being printed at Venice "per Giovan Antonio Tagliente & i Fratelli de Sabbio." Tagliente was the compiler of one of the earliest and best of the writing-books (1524). This publication has a title in red gothic letters; four wood-cuts, with women at work. Its contents are of a somewhat fanciful nature,

(1) Transcribed M.D.XXXVII by Mrs. Palliser. I have not seen a copy, but the mistake, whether hers or Quentell's, is evident, as the earlier date is inserted at the back of the title.

and include several symbols, such as hearts transfixed with arrow and sword, several pages of examples of lettering, designs of animals and vases, a good border of angels on the reverse of Aiii, and six pages of instructions; from which we see that the patterns were intended to be executed in various coloured and black silks, gold and silver thread, etc., for embroidery, for the use of both men and women. The next is *Esemplario di lavori dove le tenere*, etc.: Venice, "per Nicolo D'Aristotile detto Zoppino MDXXIX," of which a copy is in the Bodleian Library; and in 1531 appears G. A. Vavassore's *Esemplario di lavori che insegna alle donne*, etc. Of this a copy is in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin. The earliest edition described by Mrs. Palliser, is only dated 1546, but Dr. Jessen has doubtless had good reasons for dating his copy as above, and Professor Kumsch agrees with him. An interesting point in it is, that a design of Orpheus charming the Beasts, which in Tagliente's volume appears in simple line only, is in that of Vavassore shown in squares for making "lacis."

Of the French books, the honour of being first belongs to a Florentine, who published in 1530 *La fleur de la science de pourtraicture et patrons de broderie. Facon arabicque et ytalique . . . . Ce present livre a este imprime a paris par jaques nyverd . Le IV jour daoust . Lan de grace mil cinq cēs XXX. Pour noble hōme messire Francisque Pelegrin de florence.* It is of value as showing how wide was the diffusion of patterns, though these contain neither animals nor other natural objects, and are confined to moresques. Of about the same date is that published by Claude Nourry at Lyons.

So far as the beginnings of our subject in other countries are concerned, we may note *A neawe treatys : as cōcernynge the excellency of the nedle woreke . . . . so playnli made & set tout in portrature, the whiche is difficyll; and natōly for crafts mē but also for gentlewomē & iōge damosels that therein may obtayne greater conynge delyte and pleasure. These books be to sell at Andwarp in the golden Unycorne at Willm̄ Vorstermans.* As W. Vorsterman worked from 1514 to 1542, we have here limiting dates which show the work to have been quite early, and the fact that it was worth while to produce it with an English title is interesting evidence of the closeness

of the commercial intercourse between this country and the Netherlands. The first genuinely British pattern-book I have been able to trace was printed at London by J. Wolfe and Edward White for Adrian Poyntz in 1591: *New and singular patternes and workes of Linnen*, etc. It has an interesting "Epistle to the Reader," and dedication:—"To the Right Worshipful Gentlewoman, Mistress Susan Saltonstall, wife to the right Worshipfull Mr. Richard Saltonstall, Alderman of the City of London," both given at full length by Mrs. Palliser. In the latter the author alludes to "certaine paternes of cut-worke and others brought out of Foreign Countries which have been greatly accepted of by divers Ladies and Gentlewomen of sundrie nations and consequently of the common people," and states his hope "to increase and augment with more paternes of work."

It is a surprising fact that no one, so far as I am aware, has yet noted the existence of any Spanish book of the kind, though, as Mrs. Palliser says, "Dominique de Sera, in his *Livre de Lingerie*, published in 1584, especially mentions that many of the patterns of point couppé and passement given were collected by him during his travels in Spain." The Spanish writing-books, though few in number, are among the finest of their class; and one would have expected at least some sets of patterns to have been published in that country, though they would have probably been devoted to gold and silver thread-work rather than lace, the use of which was restricted by ordinances and heavy duties, and the supply derived from the Low Countries and France. The 1597 edition of Parasole's *Studio delle Virtuose Dame* has a dedication in Spanish, to Doña Joana de Aragon y Cardona, a member of the family of the Dukes of Segorbe. Her arms appear on the title-page; and one of its quarterings—the "Moorish King" of the Cordova shield—forms the central ornament of the first cut, with other heraldic devices; and the inscription *Nichil sine ipso factum est.*

In a paper of this kind, one can hardly enter very closely into detailed descriptions of the patterns used. They range, however, from the simple setting out of easy geometrical patterns in squares for *lacis* or darned netting, to very elaborate and even beautiful compositions of figures, animals,

or fruits, for more intricate methods of working. The title-pages generally give what is practically a list of contents in this respect; and those who are interested in the precise meaning of the different terms used, may be referred, in addition to Mrs. Palliser's book, to the *Technical History of the Manufacture of Venetian Laces*, by G. M. Urbani de Gheltof, of which Lady Layard has published an excellent translation, illustrated with examples of the different methods.

Patterns are, in more than one instance, found to have been pirated both by early makers of lace-books and by modern imitators. The six designs, already referred to, copied from the early book of Jorg Gastel by Pierre de Saincte Lucie, furnish a case in point; and, as one would expect, the loss of artistic value in the copy is very great when compared with the original. As to the modern copyists, the collector must always be on his guard. For instance, a copy of the edition of Vecellio, of 1592 (Books I to III) bound with that of *Gioiello* (1608), is to be met with, against which collectors must be warned. Apart from the general inferiority of the drawing, there are numerous discrepancies; one of the most amusing of which is the application of a quite unnecessary fig-leaf to the left-hand figure on page FFF2. Another class of deception is more easily to be detected, as it consists simply of copies of Ongania's excellent reproductions, stained and even mutilated to give an appearance of age; and, in one case within the author's experience, carefully bound in an old moth-eaten velvet binding, which might well have been of the sixteenth century. Ongania, it may be remarked in passing, has rendered a real service to students of this subject by reproducing in absolute facsimile not less than sixteen of the best of the Venetian lace-books. Others have been also reproduced by Mr. Bernard Quaritch, Wasmuth of Berlin, Cocheris, Amand-Durand (under the direction of M. E. Bocher), and the K. K. Oesterr. Museum at Vienna, etc. It is advisable for the collector to be aware of these.

The compilation of a fairly complete bibliography of Lace-books will be an onerous task for whoever undertakes it; the number of editions and of publishers being very great. Mrs. Bury Palliser has described, more or

less fully, 119 volumes, and her list has incidental references to other editions. This most valuable and laborious work must be the foundation on which all future bibliographers build. Considering the difficulties of access to these rare and widely-distributed little books, it is wonderfully accurate. The list that follows this paper is simply to be looked on as a contribution to the general fund. Most of the editions mentioned therein are not in Mrs. Palliser's list; a very few are repeated therefrom for the purpose of adding fuller information or of correcting errors.

LIST OF LACE BOOKS.

(Chiefly undescribed in Mrs. Bury Palliser's "History of Lace," ed. 1902.)

ABBREVIATIONS USED:

B. K. M. . .	Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum.
D. K. S. . .	Dresden Kunstgewerbe Schüle.
B. M. . . .	British Museum.
V. & A. M. . .	Victoria and Albert Museum.
P.	Number in Mrs. Palliser's Catalogue.

In addition, several titles have been collected from Sale Catalogues, or noted from reproductions; in each case they are so described.

1. BASSET, N.—New Modelbuch von Allerhandt Art, Nehens und Stickens .... *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn*, M.D.LXXI.

   [Mark of Nicolaus Baseus, dated 1570, on titlepage.]
   4°. Title and 39 cuts. V. & A. M.
   On sheet I⁴ is a design of the Wounds of Christ, dated 1564.

2. —— [45 leaves of similar patterns, printed on both sides. Sigs. A^{ii} to N^{ii}. On last page:] *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, in dem Rosen Eck, bey Niclas Bassee.*

   Bound with above. V. & A. M.

3. —— [Another edition.] *Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn.* M.D.LXXXVIII .... *durch Nicolaum Basseum.*

   B. K. M.

4. BEATUS, M. Georgius.—[Titlepage missing. Dedication to] Der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstin und Frawen Loysen Julianen, Ehur Furstin unnd Psalbgräffin bey Rhein, Herzogin in Obern, und

Nidern Bayern, ū. Gebornen Princessin zu Oranien, &ᵒ unser Grädigen Furstin und Frawen [by] M. Georgius Beatus und Johannes Ludovicus Bitchius als Romani Beati Seligen Erben daselbst. *Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn bey Romani Beati Seligen Erben M. Georgii Beati und Johann Ludwig Bitchen.* Im Jar 1601.

Ill. frontispiece [title], dedication, and 77 plates. Hamburg Mus.

5. BECKER, M.—Schŏn newes Modelbuch Von hundert vnd achtzig schŏren kunstreichen vnd gerechten Mŏdeln Teutsche vnd Welsche, welche auff mancherley Art kŏnnen genoet werden, als mit Zopffnath Creutz vnd Judenstich auch auff Laden zu wircken-Dessgleichen von ausserlesenen Zinnigen oder Spitzen. Allen Seydenstickern Modelwürckerin Nåderin, vnd solcher Arbeit geslissenen Weibsbildern sehrn dienstlich, vnd zu andern Mustern anleytlich vnd verstandig. *Franckfurt am Mayn, In Verlegung Matthes Beckers.* M.D.C.I.

4°. Titlepage, 4 pp. text, cuts. Sigs. A—P⁴. V. & A. M.
Copy of *Vecellio.*

6. BELIN, A.—Sensuyuent les Patrons de messire Antoine Belin, Reclus de sainct Marcial de Lyon. Item plusieurs aultres beaulx Patrons nouueaulx, qui ont este inuentez par frere Jehan mayol, carme de Lyon.

4°. Title and 11 leaves of cuts. V. & A. M.

7. BELLEZZE.—Bellezze de Recami, et Dessegni. Opera noua, nella quale si ritrovano, uarie, &ᵒ diuerse sorti di mostre, di punti tagliati, et punti in aiere, à fogliami, punti in stuora, et altre sorte, come nella presente uedrai. Doue le belle, et virtuose donne potrano fare ogni sorte di lauori, sopra Colari Maneghetti, &ᵒ sopra tutte quelle cose, doue uanno simil lauori. Opera non men bella, che vtile, &ᵒ necessaria. Et non piu ueduta in luce. *In Venetia.* L'Anno MDLVIII.

4°. 20 leaves. Cuts. Sigs. A—E. V. & A. M.

Senſuyuent les

Patrons de meſſire Antoine Belin/Reclus de ſainct Martial de Lyon.

¶ Item pluſieurs aultres beaulx Patrons nouueaulx/ qui ont eſte Inuentez par frere Jehan mayol/carme de Lyon.

Antoine Belin. Titlepage.

8. CELLE, D.—Ce liure est plaisant et vtile &c. . . . . Corrige est nouuellement . . . . par . . . . Dominicque celle . . . . Taille il est totallement Par Jehan coste . . . . A Lyon . . . . Quatre vingtz fassons a vrayement Tous de differente maniere. *Imprime à Lyon par Jehan coste.* Lan de grace mil cinq cens trente vng. Le premier jour du moys de Decembre. Dominicus de celle fecit.

4°. Cuts. B. K. M.

9. COITTI, Giouanbattista.—Prima parte de' Fiori, E Disegni Di varie sorti di Ricami Moderni. Come Merli, Bavari, Manichetti, & altri nobili lauori, che al presente sons in vso. *In Venetia. Appresso Francesco di Franceschi Senese all' insegna della Pace,* 1591. [At end:] *Appresso Nicolo Moretti, ad instantia di Francesco di Franceschi.*

4°. Title, 2 pp. 15 cuts (and colophon). Sigs. A—D⁴. B. K. M.
(Reproduced by Wasmuth, Berlin, 1891.)

10. CORTE, Armenio.—Libro de Mostre di Ponti in Aere, Intitolato Corona de la Mostre. Opera nuoua et non piu veduta. *Dedication* Alla Magnifica et illustre Madonna Helena Barozza, honoratissima Consorte del Clariss. S. Antonio Zantani, Conte & Caualiero . mio Signore . [with initial E]. *At end:* Il fine del primo libro. *and mark of* Vincenzo Valgrisi (*Venice,* 1548–73).

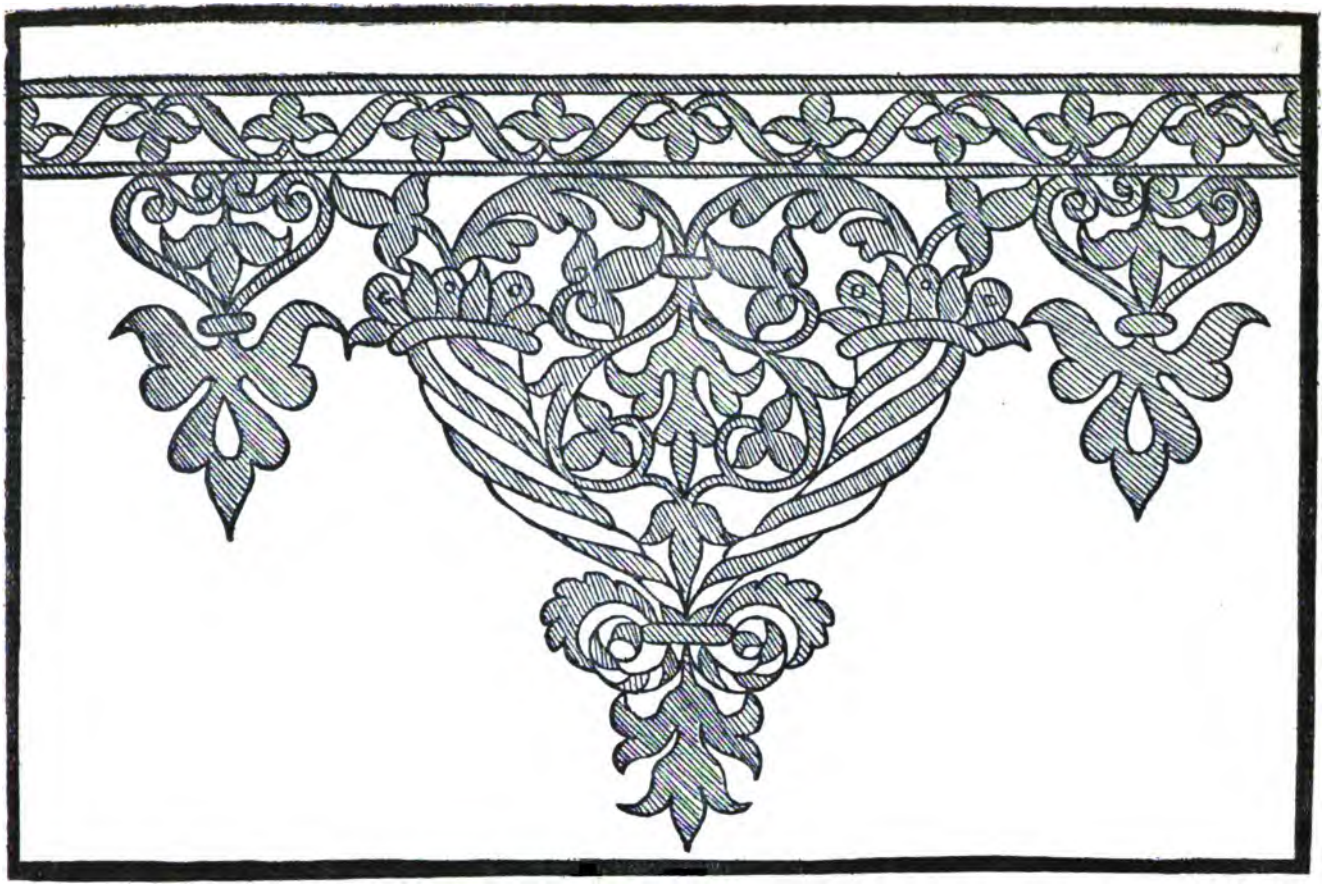
4°. Cuts. 16 leaves, unsigned. V. & A. M.

11. DANIELI, Bartolomeo.—Fiore pretioso d'ogni virtue. Per le nobili et honeste donne con li disegni di recami sul velo la prima volta dati *in luce Da Bartolomeo Danielli In Siena,* M.D.CX.

4°. Title, 2 pp. 11 engravings. Registro A, a, b, c. Tutti sono-duerni, excetto A unerno. B. K. M.

12. —— Operetta d'intagliati lauori. *In Bologna, August. Parisini et Gio. Batt. Negroponte forma,* 1639.

Fol. Title, dedication, and 12 engravings. *Rosenthal Catalogue.*
Binding said to have the arms of Tomaso Cospi, to whom the work is dedicated.



Corte. Libro de mostre di ponti in aere.

13. DANIELI, Bartolomeo.—Libro di Diversi Disegni per Colari, Punti per fazzoletti, & Reticelle di varie sorti. Fatto Bartolomeo Danieli Recamatore. Agost° Parisini forma in Bologna. [n.d.]

4°. Title and 22 plates, engraved. V. & A. M.

14. —— Vari Disegni di Merletti Inuentati e tagliati Da Bartolomeo Danieli e Dedicati All' Ill^ma^ Sig^ra^ la Sig^ra^ D. Barbera Rangona Mariscotta. Agostino Parisini, e Gio: Battista Negroponte form. in Bologna, 1641.

Fol. 14 engravings. B. K. M.

15. DE' VECCHI, Lessandro.—Ornamento nobile per ogni gentil matrona dove si contieni Bavari. frisi d'infinita bellezza lavori, per linzuoli Trauerse, e Facuoli . . . . Opera, per Pittori, Scultori, et Disegnatori goiuenole alle lor professioni Fatta da Lucretia Romana, il quinto volume de' suoi lauori . . . . *In Venetia, appresso Lessandro de' Vecchi* MDCXX.

(Described by Sig. Urbani de Gheltof.)

16. EGENOLFF, C.—Modelbuch, aller art Nehewercks und Stickens. Mit ettlichen newen künstlichen vormals verhaltenen Stucken und Stahelen. Als Venedigische Stern Und Gewirck. Uffder Laden Und nach der Zal. Die Welisch weiss Arbeit. Glattstich Creutzstich Stickwerck etc. *Franckenfort a. M. Christ. Egenolff.* 1533.

4°. 71 cuts. D. K. S.

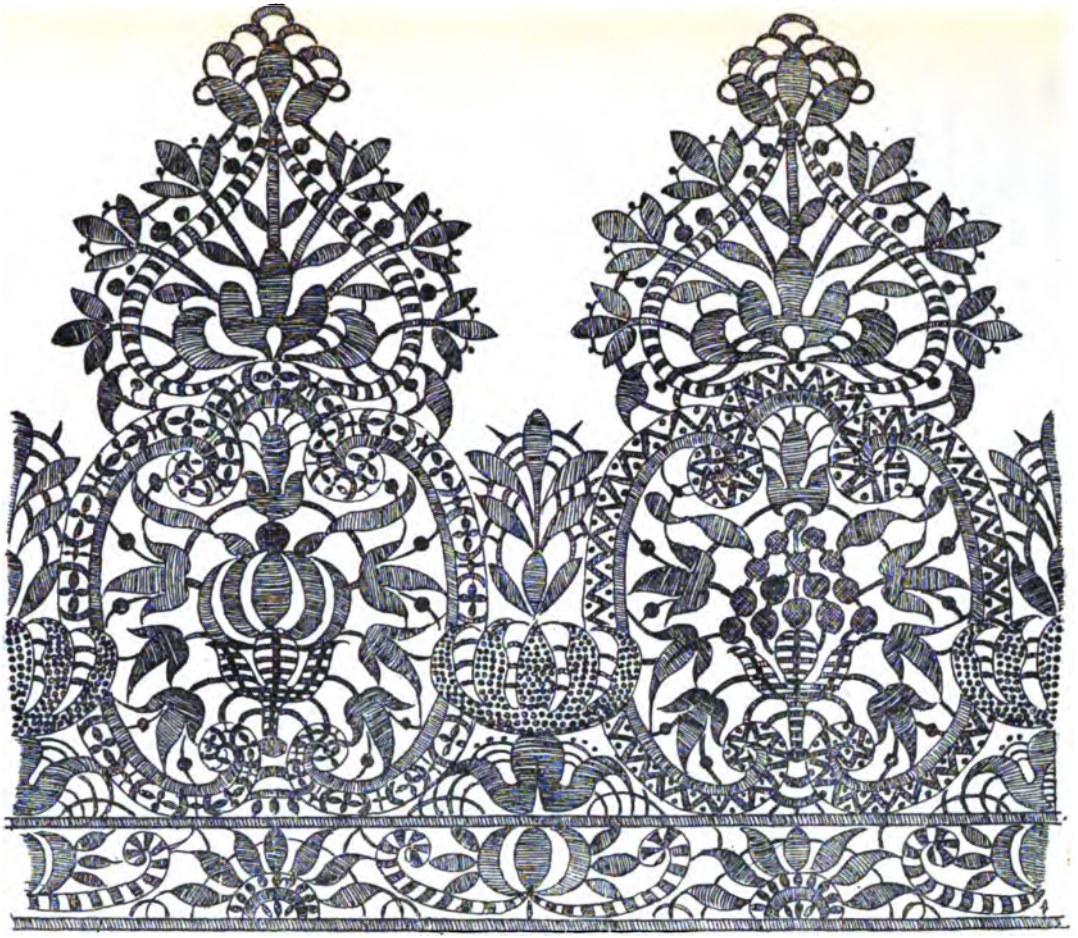
17. —— MOdelbůch, Nehwens, Stickens, vnd Wirckens. *Getruckt zu Franckfort, Bei Christian Egenolffs Erben.*

4°. 32 cuts (including title). B. K. M.

18. —— Modelbuch Welscher, Ober v̄n Niderländischer Arbait. *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Meyn. Bei Christian Egenolffs Erben.*

4°. 32 cuts (including title). B. K. M.

Mrs. Palliser only describes a fragment of this (p. 34), and does not give the publisher.



Danieli. Libro di diversi disegni.

19. EGENOLFF, C.—Modelbůch, aller art Nehwens vnd Stickens. Mit etlichen newen, Künstlichen, vormals verhaltenen Stucken vnd Stahlen, Als: Venedigsche Stern vnd Gewirck. Auf der Laden, vnd nach der Zal. Die Welsch, Weiss Arbeyt. Glattstich, Creutzstich, Stickwerck .... *Getruckt zu Franckfort, Bei Christian Egenolffs seligen Erben.*

4°. 32 cuts (including title). B. K. M.

20. —— Modelbuch Welcher Ober vñ Niderlandischer Arbait. *Franckfurt. Chr. Egenolff.*

4°. 28 cuts. Sigs. A—G⁴. B. K. M.

21. FLORINI, M.—Gioiello della Corona per le nobili, e virtuose donne. Nel quale si dimostra altri nuoui bellissimi dissegni di tutte le sorte di mostre di Punti in Aria, Punti tagliati, & Punti à Reticello, cosi per Fregi, come per Merli, & Rosette, che con l'Aco si vsano hoggidì per tutta Europa. Et molte delle quali mostre possono seruire ancora per Opere à Mazzette, Nouamente posto in luce con molte bellissime inuentioni non mai piu vsare, ne vedute. *In Fiorenza, Appresso Francesco Tosi.* MDXCVI. *Ad instantia di Matteo Florini.*

4°. Title, dedication, 30 leaves, cuts. V. & A. M.

22. —— Gioiello Della Corona Per le Nobili, E Virtuose Donne .... tagliati, & Punti à Reticello, cosi per Fregi, come per Merli, & Rosette, che con l'Aco si vsaro hoggidi per tutta Europa. Et molte delle quali Mostre possono seruire. Ancona per opere à Mazzette. Nouamente poste in luce con molte bellissime inuentioni non mai piu vsate, ne vedute. *In Siena, Appresso Matteo Florini.* MDCIIII.

4°. Title, 1 p., 23 cuts. B. K. M.

23. FRANCESCHI, D. DE'.—Serena opera noua di recami, nella quale si ritroua varie & diuerse sorte di punti in stuora, & punti a filo, & medesimamente di punto scritto & a fogliami, & punto in stuora a

scacchetti, & alcuni groppi incordonati, & rosete, doue ogni virtuosa giouene potrà facilissimamence fare ogni sorte di bellissimo lauoriero. Opera non men vtile che necessaria. *In Venetia, Appresso Domenico de' Franceschi, in Frezzaria, all' insegna della Regina* M D LXIIII.

4°. Title, 1 p., 27 leaves. Sigs. A, A^2, $+^2$, C.

24. FRANCO, G.—Nuoua Inuentione De diuerse mostre cosi di punto in aere come di Retticelli hoggi di usate per tutte le parte del Mondo—Con Merletti Mostretti da Colari e da Maneghi[ti] et merli per cantoni de saxoletti. *In Venetia*, 1596. Con Privilegio. *Giacomo Franco Forma.*

Dedication to Signora Adriana Palma.

4°. Engraved title, 2 pp., 8 engravings and (?) 16 cuts. Sigs. A—D. Ongania reproduction.

This is apparently No. 62 in Mrs. Palliser's list. The title and six engravings are in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

25. FURMBUCHLEIN.—Ein neu Furm büch-lein (1528–29).

4°. Title and 32 pp. Sigs. A^2, B—E^4. (*Rosenthal Sale Catalogue.*)

Said by Rosenthal to be unique and undescribed. He reproduces the title in his catalogue.

26. GATTA (Libraria de la).—Opera nova di recami intitolata le Richezze delle bellissime et virtuosissime Donne, nella quale si ritrova varie sorti di punti tagliati et punti in aiere, dove facilissimamente & senza fatica alcuna ogni virtuosa donna potra lavorare cavezzi di varie sorti. *In Venetia* l'anno M. D. LVIIII *a la Libraria de la Gatta.*

Fol. 46 leaves, 3 parts in 1 vol. (*Sale Catalogue.*)

27. HAUSSMANN, Nicolaus.—Eyn new Modelbuch auff aussnehen vnd borten wircken yn der Laden vñ langen gestell, Gemert vnd gebessert mitt. 105. andern Modeln. N. H. Anno domini 1525. (On back of title-page): Eyn Model Buchleyn darauss leychtlich das gewurck

dises nach angezeygten Formen, erlernet werden mag. *Gedruck. yn der Fürstlichen Stadt Zwickau durch Jorg Gastel, 1525.*

4°. Title and 16 leaves (incomplete). D. K. S.

Said by Professor E. Kumsch to be the oldest Pattern-book of needlework known; although obviously a new edition of one still older. Six of the plates are copied by Claude Nourry (Lyons, c. 1530). It is described in "Kunst und Handwerk" VI, p. 512, 1903.

28. H. N. D. C.—Winter und Sommer-Wårtlein, aller wol-könnenden Jungfrauen; aus welchen unterschiedliche Früchte und Blumen alzubrocken, auch zu einem Dåntzerl gegenwartiges als Musicalische Noten allen embsigen Frau-und Jungfrauen zu sonderlichem Lieb und Nutzen gegen hundert neue Arien, Sarabanden, Ballet und Capricien composirt und heraus gegeben Durch H.N.D.C. 1691.

8°. 16 pp., title, and 36 engravings. B. K. M.

29. HAN (W.) and RABEN (G.).—Modelbůch Neuw allerart Nehens vñ Stickens, Yetsund wider mit Mődlen vnd Stahlen. Allen Steinmetzen, Seidenfrickern, vnnd Neterin, sehr nůtzlich vnnd lustig zů gericht. *Gedruckt zů Franckfurt am Mayn durch Weygand Han vnd Georg Raben.* 1562.

4°. Cuts. Sigs. a—i, K⁴, l². B. K. M.

30. HOFFMANN, Wilhelm.—Newes vollkommenes Modelbuch von vierhundert schönen Ausserwehlten, Künstlichen vnd aussgeschnittenen, so wol Italiänischen, Frantzösischen, Niderländischen, Engelländischen, als Teutschen Mödeln, dergleichen zuvor niemals gesehen worden, zugerichtet, vnd jetzund zum Ersten mal, in dieser bequemlichen Form in Truck gegeben. Allen Nähterin, Seidenstickerin, Schreinern, Steinmetzen, auch züchtigen Frawen vnd Jungfrawen, zu Nutz vnd freundlichem Wolgefallen. *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, in Verlegung Wilhelm Hoffmanns,* Anno 1604.

Fol. Title and 17 cuts. A—I². (*Wasmuth reproduction.*)

31. HOFFMANN, Wilhelm.—Gantz new Modelbuch, Kůnstlicher vnd lustiger Visirung vnd Muster von allerhand ſchöner, artiger Zůgen vnd Blumwerck, zu jetzt gebräuchlichen, zierlichen. Italianischen, Frantzösischen, Teutchen vnd Engelländischen Oberschlägen; So wol Sendenstickern, Sammetschneidem, vnd Natherinnen, als auch Schreinêrn, Bilthauern vnd dergleichen so zu solcher Künstlicher Arbeit lust vnd geſallen tragen, fůrgeriffen vnd für Augen gestellt Durch Wilhelm Hoffman Formenschneidern. *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, in Verlegung gemeltes Wilhelm Hoffmanns.* M.DC.VII.

Fol. Title and 18 cuts. (*Munster reproduction.*)

32. JOBIN, B.—New Künstlichs Modelbuch. Von allerhand artlichen vñ gerechten Modëln, auf der Laden zu wircken, oder mit der Zopffnot, Kreutz vnd Judenstich vnd anderer gewonlicher weiss zu machen; Allen Modelwurckerin Räderin vnd solcher Modelarbeyt geflissenen Weibsbildern sehr dienstlich vnd zu andern Mustern anleytlich vnd vorstandig. Dissmals erstlich gegenwärtiger fleissiger gestalltantag geben mit Keys. Maÿ. Freiheyt. *Bey B. Jobin.* 1579.

4°. 45 cuts. B. K. M.

33. —— [Another edition.] 1589. B. K. M.

34. —— [Another edition.] Auff ein newes wider getruckt vnd mit vielen newer Mödel gemehret- mit- Röm . Keys. May. Freyheit. *Bey B. Jobin.* 1600. B. K. M.

35. KAHRN, A.—New Model buch Darinnen zum nehen allerhandt schone newe Modelen zu finndenn seinn. Durch Andream Kahrn zů Kuppfer gebracht. Anno Dõi 1626.

Title and 49 engravings, signed A. K. B. K. M.

36. KŨNIG, L.—Fewrnew Modelbuch, Von allerhandt Kůnstlicher Arbeidt, namlich Gestrickt, Aussgezogen, Aussgeschnitten, Gewiesslet, Gestickt, Gewirckt, vnd Geneyt; von Wollen, Garn, Faden, oder Senden; auss der Laden, vnd Sonderlich auss der Ramen. Yetzt Erstmals in Teutschlandt an Tag gebracht: Zu Ehren vnd Glůcklicher zeitvertreibung allen dugenesamen Frawen, vnd Jungfrawen, Nåtherinen, auch allen andern, so lust zu solcher Kůnstlicher Arbeit haben, sehr dienstlich. *Getruckt zu Basel, In verlegung Ludwig Kůnigs.* M.D.XCIX.

4°. Titlepage and 3 cuts (incomplete). V. & A. M.

37. LATOMUS, S.—Schön newes Modelbuch Von 500 schönen ausserwehlten Kunstlichen, so wol Italianisch en Franzosischen, Niderlandischen, Engelländischen als Teutchen Mödeln, Allen Näherin Seydenstrickern, etc., zu nutz. *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Meyn durch Sigismundum Latomum,* Im Jahr 1606.

8°. Cuts. Sigs. A—D⁸, E⁴, F—H⁸, I—N⁸ (sheet K missing). B. K. M.

38. —— Schon newes Modelbuch, Von Zwey hundert vnd Achtzig . . . Mödeln. *Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn bey Sigismundi Latomi S. Erben.* M.D.CXXIX.

4°. Title and 58 cuts. B. K. M.

39. MARTIN, J.—Schön Newes Modelbuch von allerley lustigen Mödeln naazůnehen zuwůrcken vñ zůsticke gemacht im Jar Ch: 15.99 . *Gedruckt zu Strassburg, bey Jost Martin am Kornmarckt. In verlegung Ludwig Kŏnigs von Basel* . Anno M.DCVI.

4°. 40 leaves. B. K. M.

40. —— [Another edition.]

4°. 40 leaves. Sigs. A—K⁴. 1619. (*Rosenthal Sale Catalogue.*)

41. MODEL - BÜCHLI.—1529 Ein new getruckt model Büchli auff auss nehen vnnd bortten wircken ynn der laden vnnd langenn gestell. Ganntz gerecht nach abteilung der feden tzal.

4°. 24 leaves. Sigs. A—E⁴. 1529. (*Rosenthal Sale Catalogue.*)

Said by Rosenthal, in his Sale Catalogue, to be the only known copy, and hitherto undescribed. He reproduces the title. Designs copied later by Claude Nourry (Lyons, c. 1530) and Basset (Frankfurt, 1569). See also No. 27, printed by Jörg Gastel, of which this is a later edition with a new titlepage.

42. MONTE.—Il . Monte . Opera Nova Di Recami, Intitvlata Il Monte Nella-quale Si ritroua, varie & diuerse sorti di mostre, di punto in aiere, à fogliami, Doue le belle, & uirtuose donne potramo fare ogni sorte di Lauoro, accommodate alla uera forma misura, & grandezza, che debbono essere, ne mai piu per l'adietro da alcuno uedute. Opera non men bella che vtile e necessaria. Nihil difficile uolenti. *In Venetia*, L'Anno MDLVII.

4°. Title and 39 cuts. Sigs. B—D³. B. K. M.

43. —— [Another edition.] Opera Noua Di Recami intitolata . . . Doue le belle, & uirtuose Donne potramo fare ogni sorti di lauoro . . . (etc.). *In Venetia.* n.d. B. K. M.

44. MÜLLER (C.).—New Modelbûch Von vilen artigen vnd Kunstreichen Mödeln zûgericht, Allen Nâjerin, Seidenstrickern, vnd andern so sich künstlichs nâyens, wirgkens oder stickens, auch frembder Züg oder Moritzgen gebrauchen, sehr dienstlich, auch vormals dergleichen nie in Truck ausgangen. M.D.LXXII. [On last page a printer's device, a naked man holding an arrow] *Getruckt zû Strassburg am Kornmarckt bey Christian Müller* [Cypher C K and a knot.]

4°. Cuts. Sigs. A—I⁴, K². B. K. M.

45. NOURRY, C.—La fleur des patrons de lingerie, a deux endroitz, a point croise, a point couche, et a point picque, en fil dor, fil dârget, &

fil de soye, ou aultre en quelque ouurage que ce soit, en comprenant lart de broderie et tissuterie. *On les vends a Lyō en la maisō de Claude nourry, dict Le Prince.*

4°. 12 leaves. (*Cocheris reproduction.*)

46. OSTAUS, Giovanni.—La vera perfettione del disegno di uarie sorti di ricami, & di cucire ogni Sorta di punti a fogliami, pūti tagliati punti a fili & rimessi, pūti incroaciati, pūti a struora & ogn' altra arte, che dia opera a disegni. Fatto nouamēte per Giouanni Ostaus . Vittoria. [Mark, with motto *Ego sum via et veritas.*] Con gratia & priuilegio dell' Illustriss. Senato Venetiano per Anni X. *In Venetia, appresso Giouanni Ostaus.* 1564. [Dedication to Signora Lucretia Contarino.]

8°. Cuts. Sigs. A—E⁸, F⁴. B. K. M.

47. —— [Another edition.] "*appresso Gio. Ostaus*, 1567." [Reprint, Ongania, Venice, 1378.] P. 58.

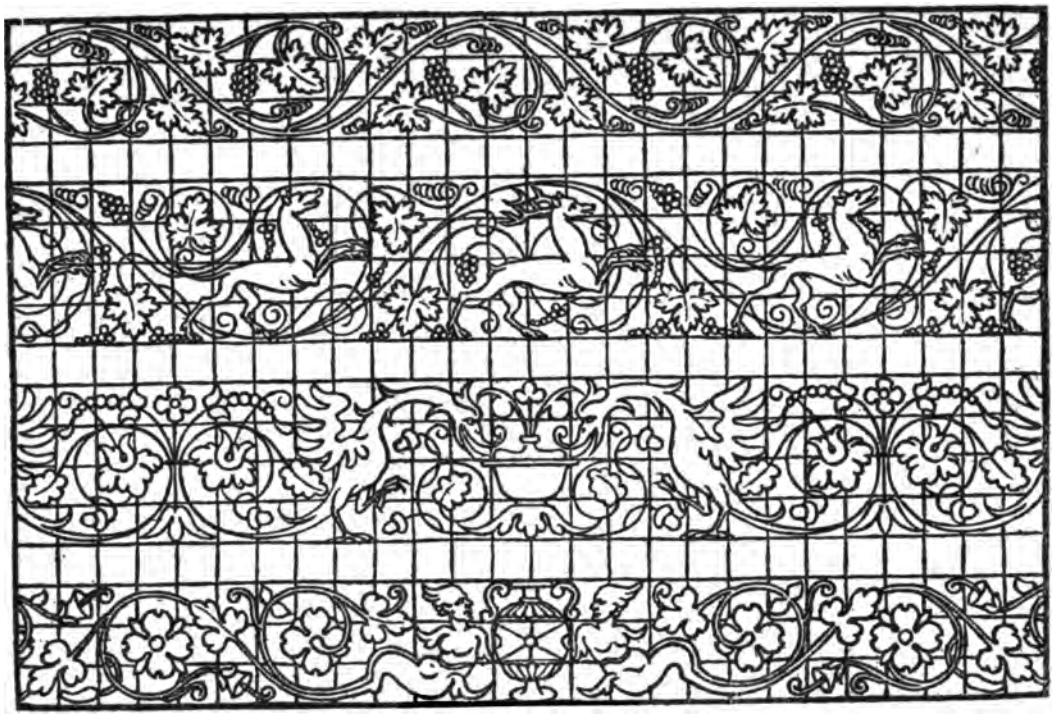
48. —— [Another edition.] 1584. P. 59.

49. [Another edition.] La vera perfettione del disegno di varie sorte di ricami & di cucire ogni Sorta di punti à fogliami . . . E di nuouo aggiuntoui varie sorti di merli, e mostre che al presente sono in vso &ª in practica. *In Venetia, Appresso Francesco di Franceschi Senese all' insegna della Pace.* 1591. [On last page] Registro ABCDE. Tutti sono quaderni. In Venetia, MDXC. V. & A. M.

Mrs. Palliser spells Ostaus *Ostans*, an uncorrected error which has been followed elsewhere. The edition of 1564 is the earliest hitherto described.

50. PAGANINO, A.—Libro Primo. De rechami ꝑ elquale se impara in diversi modi lordine e il modo de recamare, cosa nō mai piu fatta ne stata mostrata, el qual modo se insegna al lettore voltando la carta. Opera noua. [On last page] P. ALEX. PAG. BENACENSES . F . BENA . V. V.

4°. 2 pp., 31 leaves of cuts. Sig. A¹⁰ (1527.) (*Ongania reproduction.*)



Ostaus. La vera perfettione.

51. PAGANINO, A.—Libro Secondo . . . . Burato.

4°. Title and 20 leaves of cuts. (1527.) (*Ongania reproduction.*)

52. —— Libro Terzo.

4°. Title and 20 leaves of cuts. (1527.) (*Ongania reproduction.*)

53. —— Libro Quarto.

4°. Title and 20 leaves of cuts. (1527.) (*Ongania reproduction.*)

54. PAGAN, M.—Il Spechio di Pensieri della Belle et Virtudiose Donne, dove si vede varie sorti de Ponte, cioe Ponti Taliati, Ponti Groposi, Ponti in Rede e Ponti in Stiora. *Venet. M. Pagan.* 1550.

4°. Cuts. 16 leaves. Sigs. A—D⁸. (*Sale Catalogue.*)

55. —— Ornamento delle Belle & virtuose Donne. Opera Noua Nella quale trouerai varie sorte di frisi . . . . cõ ponti Tagliate. MDLIIII. *In Venetia per Matthio Pagano, in Frezzaria, all' Insegna della Fede.*

4°. 48 cuts. B. K. M.

See also SERA (D. DA).

56. —— La Gloria et L'Honore de Ponti Tagliati, e Ponti in Aere, Opera noua &ª con somma diligentia posta in luce. *In Venetia per Mathio Pagan in Frezaria al segno della Fede.* M. D. LVIII.

Fo. Title, dedication, 16 ff. Sig. A1-viii. (*Quaritch reproduction.*)
Said to be from the only copy known (1884).

57. PARASOLE, Isabetta Catanea.—Studio delle Virtuose Dame. Doue si vedono bellissimi lauori di punto in aria, reticella, di maglia. Dissegnati da Isabetta Catanea Parasole. *In Roma, Appresso, Antonio Facchetti.* M. D. XCVII. Con Licenza de' Superiori.

4°. Title, 2 dedications (in Spanish and Italian, to Dona Joana de Aragon, y Cardona, whose arms are on the titlepage), 33 ff. Sigs. A–I.
(*Quaritch reproduction.*)
Said to be the first edition and from the only copy known (1884).

58. PARASOLE, Isabetta Catanea.—Pretioso Gemma Delle Virtuose Donne Doue si vedono bellissimi lauori di punto in aria, reticella, di maglia, e piombini, disegnati da Isabella Catanea Parasole. E di nuouo dati in luce da Lucchino Gargano, con alcuni altri bellissimi lauori nouuamente inuentati. *Stampata in Venetia, Ad instantia di Lucchino Gargano.* MDC. Con Licenza de' Superiori.

4°. Title, dedication, 18 leaves of cuts.

59. —— Secondo Libro della Pretiosa Gemma Delle Virtuose Donne. Doue con nuoua inuentione si vedono bellissimi Lauori di varie sorti di Merli grandi, e piccioli, punti in aria, punti tagliati, punti à reticello, e Rosetti diuersi, che con l'aco si vsano hoggidi per tutta Europa. Nouamenta dato in luce da Lucchino Gargano. *Stampata in Venetia, Ad instantia di Lucchino Gargano,* MDCI.

4°. Title, dedication, 17 leaves of cuts. (*Ongania reproduction.*)

60. —— Gemma Pretiosa Delle Virtuose Donne. Doue si vedono bellissimi lauori di Pont' in Aria, Reticella, di Maglia, e Piombini. Disegnati da Isabetta Catanea Parasole. E di nuouo ristampato da Guglielmo Facciotti, con alcuni altri bellissimi lauori nouuamente inventati. Con Licenza de' SVPeriori. *In Roma, Appresso Guglielmo Facciotti,* 1625.

B. K. M.

4°. Title and 34 cuts.

61. PASSEROTTI, Aurelio.—Libro di Lavorieri Alla Serenissima Sig^ra^ Margarita Gonzaga da Este Duchessa di Ferrara, Patrona Colendissima. *In Bologna. Appresso Fausto Bonardi,* Con licenza de' Superiori. M. D. XCI.

4°. Dedication dated "17 Agosto 1591," signed "A. P." Cuts (with several shields of arms). B. K. M.

62. POMPE.—Le Pompe Opera Noua Nellaquale Si Ritrouano Varie & diuerse sorti di mostre, per poter jar Cordelle, ouer Bindelle, d'Oro, di Sera, di Filo, ouero di altra cosa. Doue le belle & virtuose Donne

potranno fare ogni sorti di lauoro, cioè Merli de diuerse sorte, Cauezzi, Collari, Maneghetti, & tutte quelle cose che li piaceranno. Opera non men bella, che vtile, & necessaria. Et non piu veduta in luce. [Mark of the brothers Sessa of Venice.] MDLVIII. *Si vendeno alla Libraria della Gatta.*

4°. 31 cuts. Sigs. B, D, C. B. K. M.

63. QUENTELL, P.—Eyn New Künstich Modelbuech, daryn̄ vill schöner Staelen begriffen die ietzundt auff das newst unnd noch nye in druckt ausgangen als Rörtgens werck, Lōbartisch v̄n uberlegt werck, auch wapenstickers v̄n Schnitzlers, frauwen v̄n Junckfrauwen fust nutzlich darauf zu lernen, ec. *Gedruckt zu Coln durch Peter Quentell.* Im iair 1544. Vng nouveau liure auec plusieurs sciences et patrons qui nont poinct este encore imprimees.

4°. Titlepage and 6 leaves. B. K. M.

64. ROMANA, Lucretia.—Ornamento nobile .... *In Venetia, Appresso Lessandro de' Vecchi,* MDCXX.

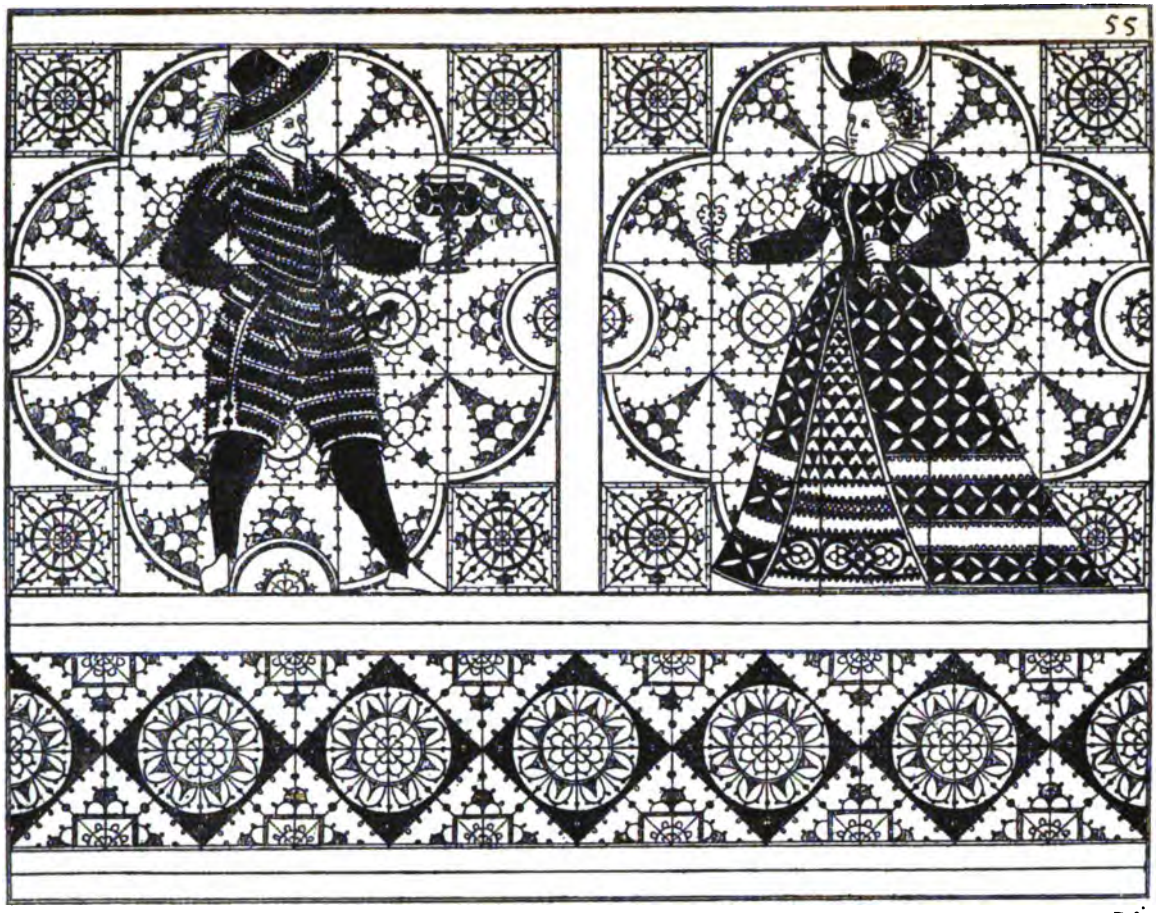
4°. 20 cuts. Sigs. A^{1-3}. P. 107. (*Ongania reproduction.*)

65. SERA, D. de.—Opera noua, doue si insegna a tutte le nobili et leggiadre giovanette di lavorara di ogni sorte, di punti, cusire, reccamere, . . . *Vinet . M. Pagan et G. da Fontaneto di Monferrta,* 1543.

4°. Title and 38 cuts. Sig. A^{L}–A^{X}. (*Sale Catalogue.*)

66. —— Opera noua composta per Domenico da Sera detto il Franciosino: doue si insegna a tutte le nobili & leggiadre giouanette di lauorare di ogni sorte di pūti: Cusire: Recamare, & jar tutte q̄lle belle opere: che si appartengono alle virtuose fanciulle e quarsi dilettano di far cō le sue mani alcuna gentilezza & e anchora molto vtile a gli tessadri che sogliono lavorare di seta. *Stampato in Vinegia per Matio Pagan sta in frezeria e Gulielmo da Fontaneto di Monferrato.* M.D.XXXXVI.

4°. — leaves. (*Ongania reproduction.*)


55

67. SIBMACHER, J.—Schön Neues Modelbuch von allerley lustigen Mödeln nachzunehen Zuwürcken v̄n Zustickē: gemacht in Jar Ch: 1597. *Zu Nürmberg bey Balthaser Caimoxen Zuerfragen . Io . Sibmacher f.*

4°. Engraved title and 35 plates. B. K. M.

The titlepage has the monogram.

68. —— [Another edition.] In Kupfergemacht. *Nürmberg, bei Michel Kuisner*, 1601. P. 90.

The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a copy of this edition in a contemporary binding of leather, stamped with small running ornament, a central arabesque, and the words MODELBÜCH—1601.

69. —— [Another edition.] Jn Kupffer gemacht . . *Nürnberg*, MDCII. *Johann Sibmacher.* Mit. Rom : Kaij : Maij : Freyheit.

B. K. M.

70. —— Diese nachfolgende Mödel kônnen auff mancherley Arth genâhet werden, Als mit der Zopffnath, Glatt, oder Creutz vnd Judenstich, auch auff der Laden zu wircken, vnd sonderlich zu dûnn aussgesschnittener Arbeit, wie es etliche nennen, fürnemlich zu gebrauchen, &c.

This titlepage also is found with the 35 plates of the 1597 edition described above. "Schön Neues Modelbuch," etc.

71. SOMASCHO, G. A.—Nova Esposizione de Recami et Dessegni. Alla Molto Illustre Signora Ippolita Manfredi. *In Venetia . Appresso Giacomo Antonio Somascho.* (c. 1602.)

4°. 14 leaves (imperfect), engraved. Sig. A$^{II-VIII}$. V. & A. M.

72. STEYNER, H.—Ein New Modelbûch auff die Welschen monier. *Gedruckt zů Augspurg durch Heinrich Steyner.* M. D. XXXIIII.

4°. Title and 55 cuts. (*Seemann reproduction.*)

73. TAGLIENTE, G. A.—Esemplario Nuouo Che Insegna A Le Donne a cuscire . . . . *Stampato in Vinegia per Giouanantonio et i Fratelli da Sabbio.* MDXXXI.

4°. 55 cuts, etc. B. K. M.

Tozzi. Ghirlanda. Libro primo.

74. Tozzi, Pietro Paolo.—Ghirlanda di sei uaghi fiori scielti da piu famosi Giardini d'Italia . . . . Libro primo. *Padoua*, 1604.

4°. 14 pp. of text, 40 engravings. B. M.

Useful information; and specimens of writing, chiefly by Antonello Bertozzi and Sebastian Zanella, within borders of designs for point lace, &c.

75. Vavassore G. A.—Esemplario di Lauori che insegna alle donne il modo e ordine di lauorare, cusire e racamare . . . fiorio Vauasore fecit (1531).

4°. 40 cuts. B. K. M.

——[Another edition.] *Veneg. G. A. Vavassore detto Guadagnino.* 1532.

4°. Cuts (26 leaves). Sig. A^{I-XIII}. (*Sale Catalogue.*)

76. —— Esemplario di Lauori. Che insegna alle donne il modo et ordine di lauorare: cucire et raccamare et finalmente far tutte quelle opere degne di memoria: le quale por fare una donna virtuosa con laco in mano. *Vineggia, Giov. Andr. Vavassore detta Guadagnino*, 1546.

4°. Cuts (26 leaves). Sig. A^{I-XIII}. (*Rosenthal Sale Catalogue.*)

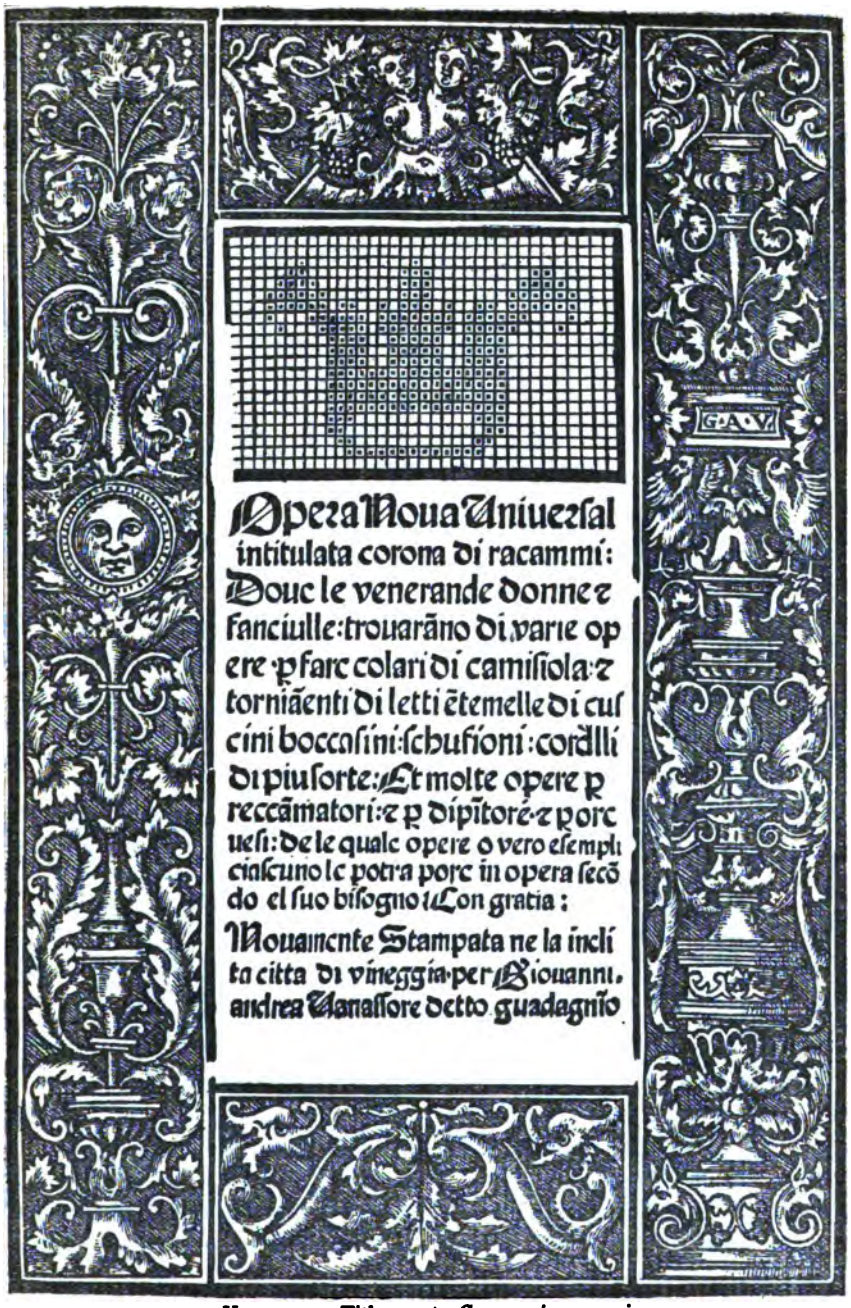
77. Vecellio, Cesare.—Gioiello della corona per le nobili e virtuose donne. Libro quarto. 1594. P. 78.

(Part 4 of the "Corona" with which it is often bound up.)

78. —— [Another edition.] *In Venetia, Appresso Cesare Vecellio, in Frezzaria nelle Case de i Preti*, 1593. (*Ongania reproduction.*)

79. —— [Another edition.] *In Venetia, Appresso gli heredi di Cesare Vecellio, in Merzaria.* 1608. V. & A. M.

80. —— Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quinto. Nel quale si contengono molti, & varij Dissegni di diuersi sorti, & specialmente che seruono per Bauari ch' in Venetia si costumano, & in molte altre



Vavassore. Titlepage to *Corona ai racammi.*

parti del mondo. Opera molto vtile. . . . . Nuouamente posto in lvce. Con privilegio. *In Venetia, appresso Cesare Vecellio, in Frezaria nelle Case de Reuer. Preti di S. Moise.* 1596.

4°. Titlepage, dedication, and 10 plates. (*Organia reproduction.*)

81. VECELL, Cesare.—Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne. Libro Primo, Secondo, Terzo. 1592. P. 77.

82. —— [Another edition.] *In Venetia, Appresso Cesare Vecellio, in Frezzaria nelle Case de i Preti,* 1592. V. & A. M.

83. —— [Another edition.] *In Venetia, Appresso Cesare Vecellio, in Frezzaria nelle Case de' Preti,* 1593. B. K. M.

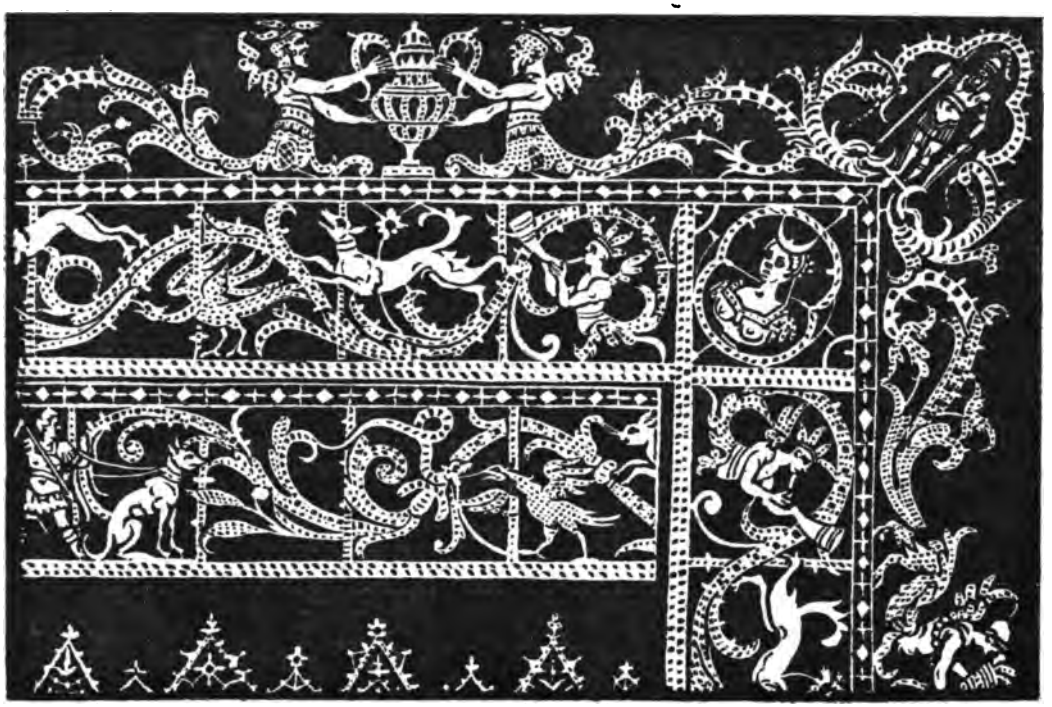
84. —— [Another edition.] *In Venetia, Appresso Cesare Vecellio, in Merzaria,* 1600. (*Organia reproduction.*)

85. —— [Another edition.] *In Venetia, Appresso Cesare Vecellio, in Merzaria,* 1601. B. K. M.

86. VINCIOLO, Federic.—Les Singuliers Et Nouueaux Pourtraicts Dw Seignevr Federic de Vinciolo Venitien, pour toutes sortes d'ouurages de Lingerie . Dedie A La Royne Douariere De France Derechef Et Pour La Troisiesme Fois Augmentez outre le reseau premier & le point couppé & lacis, de plusieurs beaux & differens portrais de reseau de point cõté, auee le nombre des mailles, chose non encor' veuë ny inuentée. *A Paris Par Iean le Clerc, ruë Saint Iean de Latran, à la Salemandre* . Auec priuelege du Roy. 1601. [Extraict du Priuilege. *De l'Imprimerie de Dauid le Clerc, Rue Frementel au petit Corbeil.*] B. K. M.

4°. Title, Coat of Arms, 3 pp. text, 64 cuts. Sigs. A—S.

87. —— Les Singuliers Et Nouueaux Pourtraicts . . . . Pour la cinquiesme fois Augmentez outre le reseau premier & le point couppé & lacis,



Vecellio. Corona. Libro secondo.

de plusieurs beaux & differens portrais de reseau de point compté, auec le nombre des mailles, chose non encore veuë ny inuentee. *A Lyon par Leonard Odet.* M.DCIII.

4°. Part I.—Title, Portrait, 5 pp., and 42 leaves of cuts. Sigs. A—L.
Part II.—Title, 1 p. text, 68 cuts. Sigs. M—V.
Portrait of Henry IV on A^2. B. K. M.

88. VINCIOLO, Federic.—[Another edition, with the plates in different order.] (1603.) B. K. M.

89. —— Les secondes œurues et subtiles inuentions . . . . le tout de poinct conté auec autres sortes de Carrez de nouuelle inuention non encores veus. *A Paris, Par Iean le Clerc, ruë Sainct Iean de Latran, à la Salamandre.* 1599.

Portion of Titlepage and some cuts are in the V. & A. M.

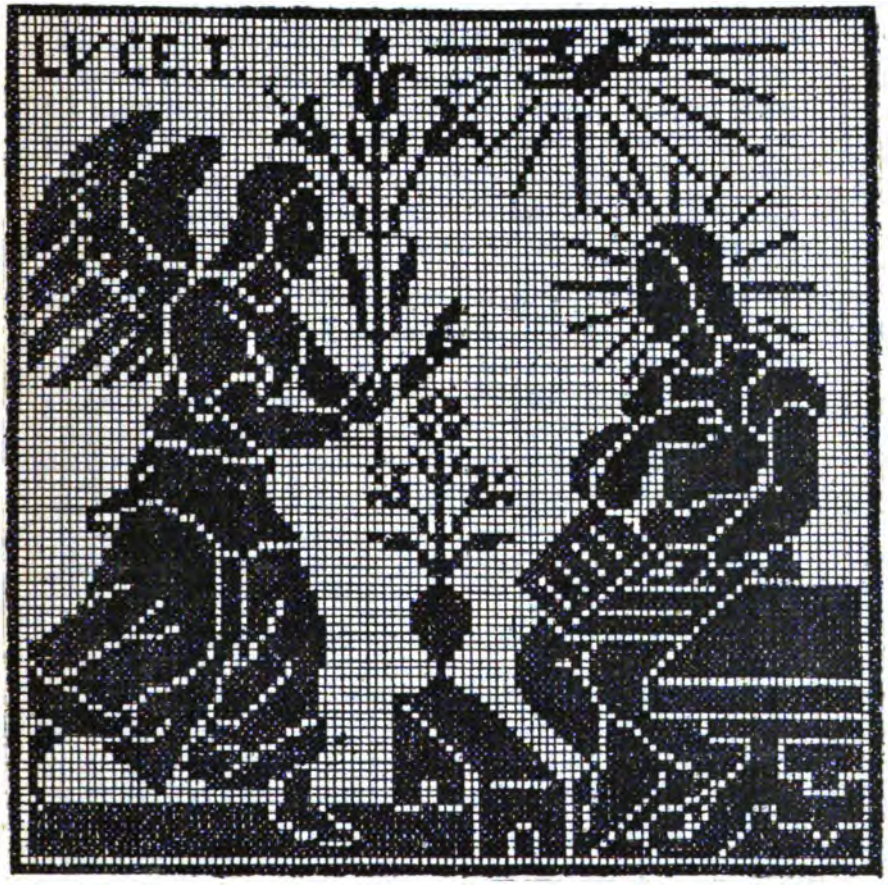
90. —— New Modelbuch Von allerhand sonderbarn schönen Mödeln von der jetzt gebreuchliche' durch geschnittener Arbeit. Durch H. Vinciolo ein Venediger angeordnet. Yetzt aber allen Frawen, Jungfrawen, Nåherin vnd dergleichen Kunstgeflissenen Personen zu sondern verstand auffs new mit vermehrung vnd besserung viler schönen vnd lustiger Mödeln in Truck gefertiget vnd an tag gebracht. Mit Rôm: Keyserlicher Mayestat Freyheit. *Getruckt zu Strassburg bey B. Jobins Erben.* An. 1596.

4°. Titlepage, 2 pp. text (a poem signed J. D. E.), cuts. Sigs.) (, A—K^4.
V. & A. M.

91. ZOPPINO, N.—Esemplario di lauori doue le tenere fanciulle & altre donne nobile potranno facilmente imparare il modo & ordine di lauorare e cusire: raccammare: finalmente far tutte quelle gentilezze et lodeuili opere: lequali po fare una donna uirtuosa con laco in mano: con li suoi compassi & misure. [At the end] Finnisse el libro intitulato Exemplario di lauori. *Stampato in Vinegia per Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino.* MDXXX.

4°. Cut. (51 leaves.) Sig. ℨ I–XIII. (*Organia reproduction.*)

LUCE. I.



From a MS. Book of Designs made for Elizabeth, Duchess of Brunswick, 1614, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

ADDENDA.

BARLEY, William.—A Booke of Curious and strange Inuentions, called the first part of Needleworkes, containing many singuler and fine sortes of Cut-workes, Raisde-workes, Stiches, and open Cutworke, verie easie to be learned by the diligent practisers, that shall follow the directions herein contained. Newlie augmented. *First Imprinted in Venice and now againe newly printed in more exquisite sort for the profit and delight of the Gentlewomen of England. For William Barley*, 1596.

Title; dedication to the right Honourable and vertuous good Ladie Isabell Dowager of Rutland; Verses; 14 designs. B. M.

SHORLEYKER, Richard.—A Schole-House for the Needle: Teaching by sundry sortes of patterns and examples of different kindes, how to compose many faire workes: with an addition, newly invented: placed in the beginning of the second booke, which being set in order and form, according to the skill & understanding of the work-woman; will no doubt yeeld profit unto such [as] live by the Needle, and give good content to adorne the worthy. *London Printed in Sho-Lane at the Faulcon by Richard Shorleyker*, 1624. (On the second title) *And are to be sould by John Gresmand in Paules-alley at the signe of the Gunne.*

4°. 2 titles, 6 pp. introduction, dialogue in verse, 32 leaves, cuts.
Musée Royale, Brussels.

SHORLEYKER, Richard.—Here foloweth certaine patternes of Cut-workes: newly invented and never published before. Also sundry sorts of spots, as flowers, Birdes and Fishes &c. and will fitly serve to be wrought, some with Gould, some with silke, and some with crewell, in coullers: or otherwise at your pleasure. And never but once published before. *London Printed in Sho-lane at the signe of the Faulcon, by Rich. Shorleyker.*

4°. Title, 24 leaves, cuts; 1 p. conclusion. (P. 110, note).
Musée Royale, Brussels.

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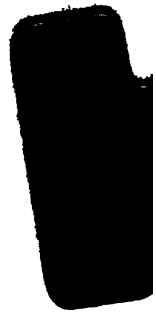

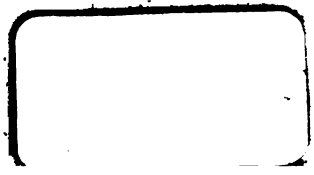

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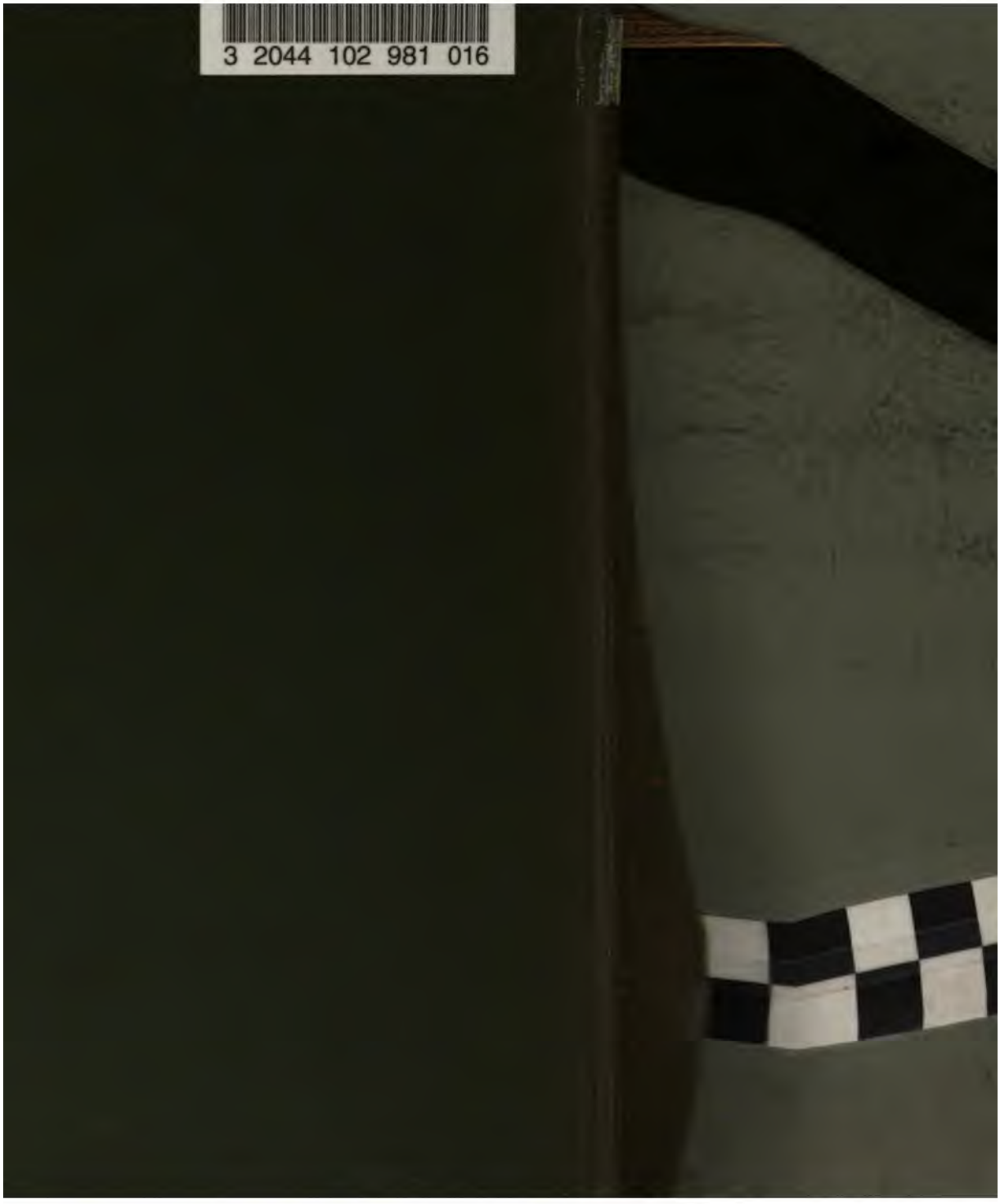
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